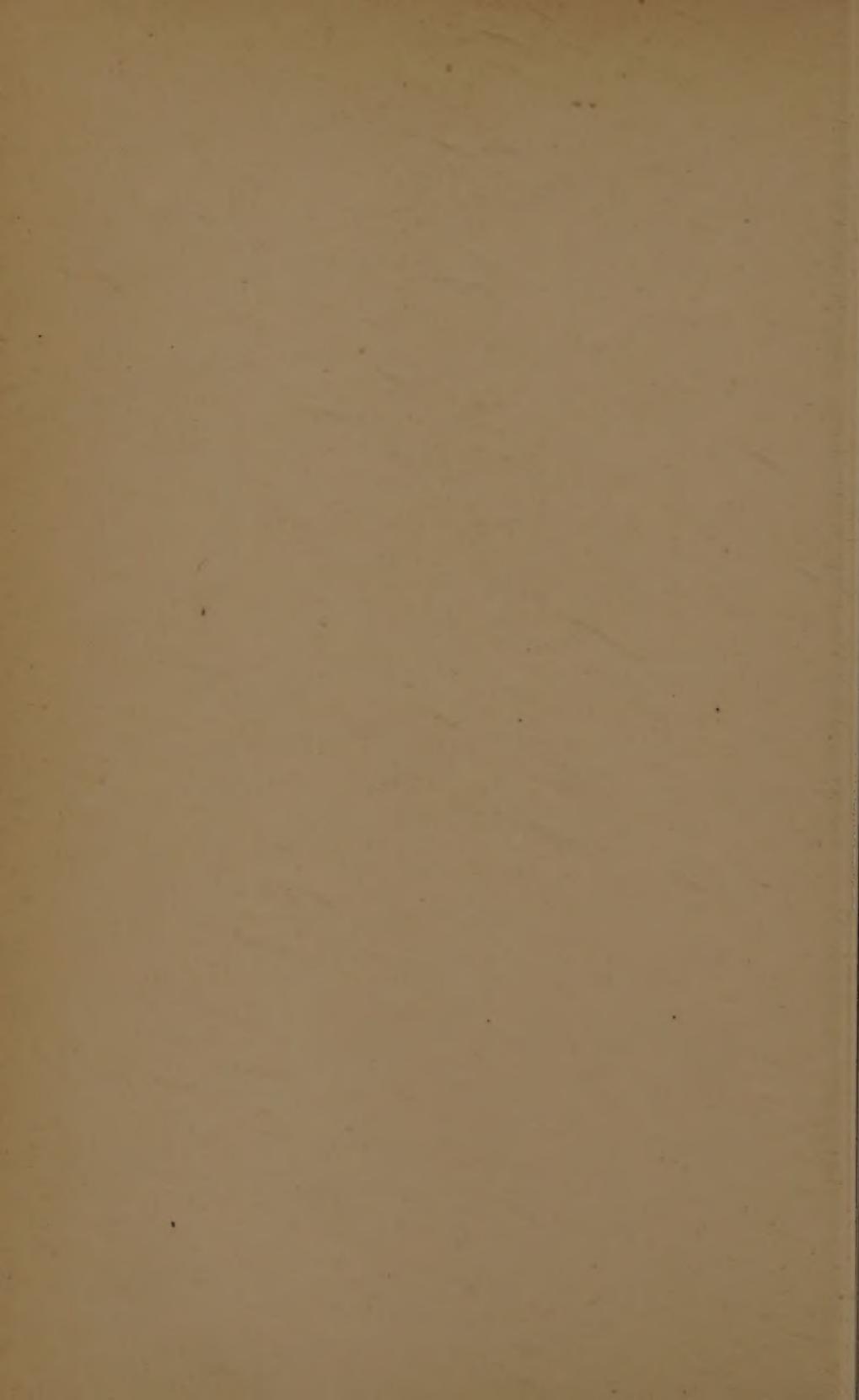


Jan., '05.

St. Louis.

10633 Perry Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

(5) Theban Supremacy (Decline
(Stupid Thebans - like
Malaffy
Bury



THE

ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN.

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST
CTESIPHON, AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.

BY

MARTIN L. D'OOGE, PH. D., LL. D.,
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

"Quid enim tam aut visendum aut audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causa accurata et inimicitiis incensa contentio?"

CIC. *de Opt. Gen. Orat.*

THIRTEENTH EDITION.

CHICAGO
SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY
1900

COPYRIGHT, 1875.
BY S. C. GRIGGS & CO.

PRESS OF
THE HENRY O. SHEPARD CO.,
CHICAGO

TO

JAMES R. BOISE, PH. D., LL.D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,

THIS EDITION OF DEMOSTHENES DE CORONA IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,
AS THE FRUIT OF STUDIES FIRST INSPIRED BY HIS ADMIRABLE
INSTRUCTION, AND AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT FOR
HIS EMINENT SERVICES IN THE CAUSE
OF CLASSICAL LEARNING.

PREFACE.

THE aim of the present edition of the *De Corona* is threefold: First, to present in the most concise form possible the latest results of study and criticism upon this masterpiece of Athenian oratory, especially as found in the best approved editions of the German scholars. Of all these editions Westermann's and Voemel's have been most freely consulted and used, particularly in points of historical and textual criticism. The text is that of Baiter and Sauppe's *Oratores Attici*, which follows most closely the reading of Σ, the oldest and best of the manuscripts. A few departures from this text are noticed as they occur.

A second aim of this edition is to lead the student to study the oration as a finished rhetorical and literary production. No encouragement is given to such as would make it mainly a vehicle for teaching grammar. The grammatical notes are, therefore, few, referring in the main only to the nature of conditional and to the structure of relative sentences. On the other hand, frequent attention is called to the rhetorical order of words, the emphasis of position, the use of metaphors, the rhythm of diction, and

kindred points in rhetoric. The opportunity for using illustrative material is exceedingly limited in an ordinary text-book ; but the editor hopes that the few specimens of illustration referred to in the Notes may stimulate a more general comparison of Demosthenes with other orators, both ancient and modern.

A third aim, quite akin to the second, is to enable the student to appreciate the oration as a skilful plea and a masterpiece of argumentation. To realize this aim it is essential that he have some acquaintance with the rival oration of Æschines. But in most of our colleges this oration is not read ; and the student reads a speech that was made as a rejoinder to one of which he has but the slightest, if any, knowledge. To meet this difficulty, in part at least, extracts from the oration of Æschines are appended at the foot of the text to illustrate those points which Demosthenes makes directly in reply to his opponent. The editor has found, upon repeated trial, that such a comparison, almost point for point, of the rival orations, gives new interest and value to the study of the *Dc Corona*. It has not been thought best to make any comments upon the Æschines, as it would be difficult to fix any limit here. Generally it will be found sufficient for the illustration of the text of Demosthenes, that the pupil simply read these extracts. To supplement them, and to enable the student to follow and compare the chain of argument of each orator throughout its entire length, a brief abstract of the speech of Æschines has been added in an Appendix. The course

of the argument of Demosthenes can be obtained from the divisions designated in the Notes. The student is recommended to write out for himself a full abstract of this oration. The editor allows himself one or two more suggestions. Let the pupil be required to notice carefully all the references to other parts of the oration, and so learn how certain expressions may often recur, and how the use of a word or phrase in one connection may explain its use in another. In a word, let the Notes be carefully *studied*. The student will find it greatly to his advantage to read, in preparation for the study of this oration, Chapters LXXXIX. and XC. of Grote's "History of Greece." It remains to be added, that, on account of the generally acknowledged spuriousness of the inserted documents, and their irrelevancy to the points under discussion, it has not been thought worth the while to write comments upon more than the first four,—a sufficient number from which to gain some idea of the internal evidence against their genuineness, and to illustrate peculiar and technical uses of words.

The Introduction is substantially taken from Anton Westermann's fourth edition.

While in the midst of my preparation there comes to hand Professor W. S. Tyler's excellent revision of the edition of Holmes. To both the original and the revising editor I have acknowledged repeated indebtedness for notes on the use and meaning of words. Besides the sources already named, my material has been drawn chiefly from

Whiston, Lord Brougham, Professor Larned, Reiske, Schaefer, Dissen, Bremer, Rehdantz, and from Arnold Schaefer's exhaustive work, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*. I am also under obligations to Professor J. H. Lipsius, of the University of Leipzig, for valuable lectures on this oration. My special thanks are due to my scholarly colleague, Professor Albert H. Pattengill, for valuable suggestions and critical assistance in preparing this work for the press.

I shall esteem it a favor if any one using this book shall call my attention to any error whatsoever.

M. L. D'OOGE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, January, 1875.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD REVISED EDITION.

IN preparing this edition, references have been made to *Goodwin's New Grammar*, and many suggestions and corrections, kindly offered by teachers and students who have used the earlier editions, have been adopted.

To all who have thus aided me in presenting an improved book, I desire to express my sincere thanks.

M. L. D'OOGE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, June, 1880.

INTRODUCTION.

THE news of the defeat at Chæronea excited no small consternation at Athens. In the supposition that Philip would prosecute his victorious career and attack Athens itself, it was determined in all haste to place the city in a better state of defence. The unexpected clemency of Philip in his dealings with the Athenians, and the peace brought about soon after through the agency of Demades, interrupted, it seems, these hurried defensive preparations. But the importance of an extensive and thorough repair of the walls and fortifications had thus been made evident ; and before the close of the year 338 a proposal was successfully made by Demosthenes, without exciting opposition, as it appears, from the Macedonian party, that the building of the walls and defences be at once carried forward. The work was apportioned, as usual, by sections among the ten tribes, each of which elected a commissioner (*τειχοποιός*), as administrator of the funds set apart by the state for this purpose, and as general overseer of the work.

The tribe of Pandionis elected Demosthenes to discharge this trust. Demosthenes expended from his own resources a hundred minas over and above the ten talents given him by the state for this object (cf. Æsch. *c. Ctes.*, §§ 23, 31 ; Dem. § 113, below). This, together with his generous donation to the Thoric Fund (cf. Dem. § 113, below), furnished Ctesiphon, his personal friend and supporter, with an opportunity to obtain a public recognition of the general as well as special merits of De-

mosthenes as a citizen and politician. Accordingly, Ctesiphon proposes, in 337 b. c., a decree that the state should honor Demosthenes with a golden crown, not only for these benefactions, "but also especially because he constantly says and does what is for the best interest of the people" (cf. *Æsch.* § 49); furthermore, that the herald should proclaim this crown in the theatre before the assembled Greeks, at the time of the great Dionysia.

The Macedonian faction saw in this proposal only a stroke of policy on the side of the Patriotic party, which party interests bade them thwart at all costs. When, therefore, the Senate brought this proposal, which appears to have passed this body without serious opposition, for confirmation before the Assembly, Æschines entered protest, and declared his purpose, under oath (cf. note, § 103, below), to bring a COMPLAINT FOR ILLEGALITY (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) against the author of the proposal. The immediate sequence of this declaration was the suspension of the bill until this question should be decided. The complaint, according to Æschines, § 219, was formally brought prior to the death of Philip, which occurred in July, 336.

In the bill of indictment Æschines attacks the legality of the proposal (now a *προβούλευμα*) at two points: (1) that the statement contained therein, that Demosthenes constantly aims in his words and deeds at the best interests of the state, is false, and to insert a false statement in the public documents is forbidden by law (cf. *Æsch.* § 50); (2) that the proposed crowning was a violation of the existing laws in two respects, inasmuch as Demosthenes had not yet given account of the offices for which it was alleged he had deserved so well, and again in that the proclamation was to be made in the theatre at the great Dionysia.

It is plain that Ctesiphon is not the man against whom such a formidable attack must needs be directed. The real antagonist whom Æschines wishes to encounter is Demosthenes; the man who for so many years had defiantly opposed him, had

crossed and thwarted all his purposes, had compelled him to enter into a formal defence against a charge of treachery and misconduct in an embassy to Philip, had all along defended the common fatherland against the encroachments and schemes of Macedon ; and who, even when the unavoidable calamity had come, and Athens, in common with the other Greek states, had fallen under the Macedonian sway, had with unwearied strength and unfailing courage devoted himself wholly to the promotion of the welfare of the state. Now, when the influence of the Patriotic party was so greatly crippled by the disastrous result of the late struggle for independence, now was the favorable moment for crushing the hated rival and for annihilating his political existence. Such was the spirit in which Æschines undertook this prosecution. His oration against Ctesiphon is, in point of rhetorical finish, one of the masterpieces of ancient oratory, but in moral tone a detestable abortion, the fruit of blind and unbridled passion. In full measure he pours upon his opponent the accumulated and distilled poison of his party hatred ; every means is legitimate to assuage his thirst for revenge ; not one of the measures of Demosthenes — and he passes them all in review — finds mercy in his sight. Demosthenes, he charges, has crouched before Philip ; has received bribes from every quarter ; the unfortunate peace of Philocrates is of his doing ; to him the unhappy Phocians and Thebans owe their ruin ; in short, all the calamities that have befallen Greece lie at his door, — a caricature which, in its exaggeration, reproves and corrects itself. Thus challenged, Demosthenes cannot have hesitated to enter upon the contest. For, aside from the fact that he was the natural defender of Ctesiphon, and also that even under much less provocation it was not in the nature of an Athenian to let personal injuries go unresented, nothing could have seemed to him more desirable than this opportunity to vindicate publicly his entire political career. Indeed, to destroy the fabric of lies woven by Æschines, there was no need of such powerful elo-

quence as Demosthenes possessed ; there was, however, need of a character as pure and of as great moral dignity as was his to do this with certainty, with confidence in the good cause he espoused, and with success in the face of a credulous, fickle, and excitable populace.

To be sure, *his* oration also, perfect as it is in its structure, has its shadows. Such are the personal assaults upon Æschines, comments upon which are to be found in §§ 129, 258 ff. And here we may not pass by unnoticed the fact that Demosthenes does not always candidly and simply limit himself to the bare statement of facts, especially is this the case when he wishes to expose the weak points of his antagonist's policy or to conceal those of his own ; but, on the contrary, occasionally he gives to his representation a plausible and sophistical coloring. In this, however, he differs in no wise from all his contemporaries ; and, at all events, these sophisms, unjustifiable though they are when taken by themselves, employed in a good cause are not able to weaken at all the impression of truthfulness which the oration produces as a whole.

Unquestionably the weakest part of the defence lay in the answer to the technical and legal points that formed the basis of the indictment. Æschines was too wary a man to enter upon this contest without feeling sure of his ground in at least one respect. The peril of Demosthenes was really this ; that his opponent would argue solely the legal question in the case, and, arguing this successfully, would seriously implicate his political career and ruin his public reputation and influence. Had Æschines limited himself to the illegality of this proposal on the score of Demosthenes's accountability (cf. §§ 112, 119, and notes), there is every reason to believe that Ctesiphon would have been condemned, and Demosthenes would have remained uncrowned. But this did not satisfy the hatred of Æschines. Blinded by his passion for revenge, he weakened the force of his legal argument not only in connecting with it a second

technical question of exceedingly doubtful nature (that of the place of Proclamation), but also in concentrating the strength of his attack upon an examination of the public career of his opponent, in order to prove how unworthy he is in every point of view of the proposed distinction. Thus the legal question falls at once into the background ; it is no longer Ctesiphon, but Demosthenes, who is on trial. And Demosthenes does not fail to avail himself of the advantage that is thus offered him ; but, placing the legal points in the middle of his speech, to borrow the expression of the old critics, as a good general arranges his weakest troops in the centre of his line of battle, he devotes nearly all his efforts to the refutation of the personal reproaches and charges that were brought against himself.

The trial of this suit did not come off at once, but, according to various authorities (cf. *Æsch.* § 254 ; *Plut. Dem.*, § 24 ; *Cic. De opt. gen. orat.*, § 7), was postponed until the latter part of the summer of 330 b. c., a period of at least six years after the indictment was first brought. What occasioned this unparalleled delay is wholly unknown ; neither orator makes the slightest allusion to it. Had there been on either side any artful design in this postponement, the opposite party would doubtless have mentioned it in its own favor. The time for renewing the complaint and bringing it to trial was doubtless well chosen ; for Alexander's recent victories in the East, and the destruction of the Peloponnesian league by Antipater, the Macedonian general, must have newly elated the partisans of Macedon at Athens, and given *Æschines* and his associates fresh hopes of success in their attack upon Demosthenes.

The fame of the trial and the reputation of the rival orators attracted strangers from all parts of the Hellenic world (cf. note on § 196). *Æschines*, being the prosecutor, spoke first. If the usual custom was followed, Ctesiphon, as the defendant, made the first reply. What this was is unknown ; it was probably nothing more than a formal denial of the charge.

The case was closed with the speech of Demosthenes on the defence.

That we possess these orations in the exact form in which they were delivered, no one supposes. But to point out the changes that were introduced in their revision is largely a matter of conjecture. Some of them may at least be inferred in comparing the two orations; especially is this true of the speech of Æschines. Demosthenes, on the one hand, alludes to topics which his opponent has just treated (cf. §§ 95, 238), but which are not found in the oration of Æschines; while, again, the speech of Æschines contains quite a number of points for a reply to which we search Demosthenes in vain. It must not, of course, be expected that Demosthenes would discuss all the statements of his rival, point for point; a few charges in the great number may have escaped his notice, many deserved no attention, and the right to pass by such as were of minor importance was doubtless exercised. But that he should have left unanswered entire portions of the speech of Æschines, as, for example, that in which the latter depicts the last of the four periods into which he divides his rival's public career (cf. Abstract in Appendix), and have passed by in silence those scornful insinuations of Æschines in treating this period, not even noticing them so much as to say that their consideration was wholly irrelevant to the case, — this exceeds all probability.

These considerations lead to the suspicion that Æschines subsequently rewrote his speech, omitting in the revised edition what best suited his purpose (cf. note, § 95), and adding to it parts which in their full extent can no longer be definitely distinguished. This suspicion is fully confirmed in the case of two passages. One of the most common artifices of the ancient orators was the use of what is called *ὑποφορά* or *subjectio*, by which the arguments or illustrations of an opponent are anticipated either as a matter of conjecture or of report, and the attack or defence is thereby made more difficult. Æschines

makes frequent use of this rhetorical artifice ; but in two places, §§ 189, 225, the apparent artifice is really plagiarism. Upon comparing these two passages with § 319 and § 243 of Demosthenes (in which connection they are cited), we find the closest similarity. Now, all due allowance being made for what each orator may have heard in advance of the other's line of argument, through the discussions of their adherents and the reports of talebearers, to suppose that in such unessential and minute respects as the form of an illustration one orator should exactly anticipate the other, is most improbable, not to say impossible. It admits, therefore, of hardly a doubt that Æschines copied both the similes in the passages referred to from the speech of his rival after its publication. Demosthenes, it is believed, published his oration, if not word for word, certainly in substance, as he spoke it, soon after the trial was over ; Æschines, as it appears, published his somewhat later, taking advantage of the earlier publication of his opponent's speech. Could Demosthenes, when he published his own, have had before him the speech of Æschines in its *revised* form, we may suppose that his also would in some points have read differently.

The final issue of the trial makes some atonement for the malice to which it owes its origin. Æschines did not receive a fifth part of the votes, and was accordingly condemned to pay the fine established by law of one thousand drachmas, and to suffer inability ever again to institute a similar suit. His influence and reputation were destroyed ; and unable to endure the sight of the hated victor, he went to Rhodes into voluntary exile. It is related that here he read his speech against Ctesiphon ; and when his Rhodian audience expressed surprise that such a masterly oration should not have gained him the day, he gracefully remarked, " You would cease to wonder, if you had heard Demosthenes."

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ。

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.

—••—

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μέν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐπειθ' ὃ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ²

AESCH. IN CTESIPH. 205. οὗτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελλόμενος, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ', ὅτι πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσανθήσι ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἐτέρων παρεμβολῆς πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. 206. ὥσπερ

νῦμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γάρ ἀν εἴη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν φ πρὸς ἄπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὄμοίως ἀμφοῦ ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἵσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἔκαστος, οὗτος ἔασαι χρήσασθαι.

3 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτοὺς τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἵσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἵσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὔνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν — οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἔτερον δ', ὁ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ

οὖν ἐν τοῖς γηραικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅρατε τοὺς πίκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλοις διαγωνιζομένους, οὗτοι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅλην τὴν ἥμέραν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἔατε αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου περιύστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἔγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.

241. "Αξιον δ" ἔστι καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆσαι. εἰ γάρ τολμήσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὗτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἐαιτὸν ἔγκωμιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται. ὅπου γάρ δὴ τοὺς

τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ'
αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὁ μέν ἔστι πρὸς 4
ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν
ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κανὸν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος
τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν
ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς
ἄξιῷ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἄ καὶ πε-
ποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν
ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν
οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὃ τι δ' ἀν τὸ
πρᾶγμα αὐτὸς ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός
ἔστι δίκαιος ἔχειν δὸς τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησά-
μενος.

Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀν 5
ὅμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ
καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπου-
δῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπη-
ρόν ἔστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κανὸν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ
τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίνῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν

μὲν ὄντως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οὓς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα,
ἐὰν τοὺς καθ' ἕαντῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν δὲ
ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνη τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἔαντὸν ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἀν
τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκούων;

210. ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἡ κραυγὴ; τίς ὁ τόνος
τῆς φωνῆς; οὐχ δὸ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φείγων ἔστι Κτησιφῶν, δὸ
ἀγῶν οὐκ ἀτίμητος, σὺ δὲ οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ
σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζει; ἄλλὰ περὶ τίνος
ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδὴ; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους.

εύνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περὶ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν
 6 τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὅντος
 τουτοῦ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων
 ὅμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορη-
 μένων ἀπολογούμενου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι
 κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἔξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὗνους
 ὧν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρί-
 ουσις ὕστερον δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας
 7 ὅμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ φαί-
 νεται, ἀλλ' ὅρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς,
 αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἵσχύει, οὐκ
ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων
 ἔκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν
 φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστερον δίκαια
 εὔνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἵσον
 καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατήν, οὕτω τὴν διά-
 γνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἀπάντων.

8 Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἴδιου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε,
 λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῆς πεπολιτευ-
 μένων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι,
 καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὑχομαι πρῶτον μέν, ὅσην
 εὗνοιαν ἔχων ἔγω διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν
 ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶ-
 να, ἐπειθ' ὃ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὔδο-
ξίαν κοινῆς καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτο
 παραστῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γρα-
 φῆς γνῶναι.]

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὅν ἔδιώκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν 9
 Αἰσχίνης, κάγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος *See Note*
 εὐθὺς ἀν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω
 λόγον τᾶλλα διεξιῶν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα
 κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ
 δίκαιον ἄμα βραχέα, ὃ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ
 τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξω-
 θεν λόγοις ἡγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἴδιων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βε- 10
 βλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλὰ καὶ
 δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἵστε με τοιοῦτον οὗν οὗτος
 ἥτιάτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν),
 μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ *τι ἔστι* *τι*
 ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφί-
 σασθε ἥδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ
 βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν
ἐπάχθες λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
 ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ
 τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ'
ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἦν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον
 εὑνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρό-
 τερον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακόήθης δ' ὅν, 11
 Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ωήθης, τοὺς περὶ *See Note*
 τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους
 ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέ-
 ψεσθαι. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύ-

φωμαι. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἄκατεψεύδουν καὶ διέβαλλες, ἔξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἀνθευλομένοις ἀκούειν ἥτιοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

12 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαιρεσις αὗτη· ἔχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ὅμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἰ περ ἥσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ 13 πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδέ τέλος. οὐ γάρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδέ τέλος ἐν ἐπηρείᾳς τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιον ἐστιν, ὃ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἔώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὓσι γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγώδει καὶ διεξήει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἀξια πράττοντά με ἔώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ γάρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμὲ δέ, εἰ περ ἔξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν 14 οὐκ ἀν ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἰ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νῦν διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει ἥτιοισί, καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδι-

κοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἔώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν
 ἄπασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πε-
 ποιηκὼς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς
 πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτο ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις
 αὐτοῦ. νῦν δὲ ἐκστὰς τῆς ὁρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ ¹⁵
 καὶ φυγὴν τοὺς παρ’ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους,
 τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα
 καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται. εἴτα κα-^{ταστάρων}
 τηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτοί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν
 ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθραν προΐσταται,
 οὐδαμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκὼς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἑτέ-
 ρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι ¹⁶
 πρὸς ἄπασιν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς
 ἂν εἴπειν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ’
 ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ’ εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς
 ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν
 τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἄλλή-
 λους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ ὅτῳ κα-
 κόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας
 τοῦτο γε.]

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ ¹⁷
 τούτων ἂν τις ἰδοι οὕτε δικαίως οὔτ’ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας

54. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σαφέστε-
 ρον εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὰν
 αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, καταριθμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄρα τῇ
 πόλει τέτταρες ἥδη γεγένηνται καιροὶ, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται.

οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἔξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἔαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἵσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνῆσαι, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν, ^{τὴν} ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἔκαστα θεωρῆτε.

¹⁸ Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποι-

ῶν ἔνα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω, καταλογίζεται ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἐν φ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζεται τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς ἔγὼ δείξω. 55. δείτερον δέ φησι γενέσθαι δι' ἥγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾧ καταλίσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρίτον δὲ δι' ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μέχρι τῆς ἀτιχίας τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν οὖν παρόντα καιρόν. 60. εἰ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἥκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθέης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογινώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγινώτω, πρὸν ἀν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσῃτε ὑπομηήσκοιτος τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα παρεχομένου, δι' μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε Δημοσθέης, ἐὰν αὐτὸς δι τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἐγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθέην πλείω μὲν γεγραφότα ψηφίσματα Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας,

οῦντας ὄρῶντες. Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἀν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι.¹ οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσταν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο. ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἄπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὕθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὗτως ἵσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὕθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα 19 δ' ὄρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἑκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν. εἴτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὡς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μῆκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς 20 τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγουν δεῶν ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἀγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οἱ πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, 35)-³ καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον *αιδε*

νῦμιν· οῖς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἔτοιμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐδὲν δ' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἀν τις ἔξετάζῃ δικαίως,
21 αἴτια εὑρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναι τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἔστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστό-

62. Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἔξιναι Φιλίππῳ δεῖρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. ἥκον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν Λυκίνος ὁ γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπήει χρόνος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτὴς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχῶν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχών, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ὦν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. 63. νικᾷ γὰρ ἔτερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἐλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιπποι ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν δεῖρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τούτων εἰς ἦν Δημοσθένης. Κάκειθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπίγγειλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φίλιππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μέν γε τὴν ἔξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῦ δεῖρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται. 64. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἥδη σφόδρα μοι τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε. Ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέντας

second
part

δημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δὲ ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἔαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φίλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σός, Λισχίνη, κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδὲ ἀν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐώ γάρ τοῦτο γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβούλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὅντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὗτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκεν ἀναιδείας, ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκώς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιή-

ιστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φίλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην, εἰκότως, τοὺς ἂμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἄμα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμεύητε τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ἡτε ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ὥστα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ίδιᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην. 68. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἥκον οἱ Φίλιπποι πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης, ἐν φ' γράφει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλεύσασθαι, μὴ περιμεύναντας τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους. 72. Οὐ γάρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γάρ τὸ ρῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἄμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος), ἀπορρήξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἡ πολεμεῦν αὐτοὺς ἡ τὴν εἰρήνην ίδια ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλέσας Ἀντίπατρον ἐρώτημά τι ἡρώτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἡ ἐρήσεται, προδιδάξας δὲ ἡ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι. Καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προβιασαμένου Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Φίλοκράτους.

σασθαι. εῖτ' ὁ — τί ἀν εἰπών σέ τις ὄρθως προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ηλίκην νυνὶ διεξήεις, ὄρων ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἡγανάκτησας, ἡ παρέλθων ταῦτα ἀ νυνὶ κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ

²³ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππω, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτυρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἥκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδείς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἥσαν ἔξεληλεγμένοι, οὕθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ

²⁴ τούτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἀμα τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εύρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἀπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὐκούν οὔτε τῆς ἔξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν οὐδὲν αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἀλλων ὡν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὃν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, 25
 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προ-
είλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς
 ἦν ὁ Φιλίππων πάντα συναγώνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ
 πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον
 ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλεύων ἀπο-
 πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τό-
 πους, ἐν οἷς ἀν δυτα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ
 τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γρά-
 ψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῦν ἡθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' 26
ἡδύνατο, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φι- = τὸν
 λίππων μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ^{τὸν}
 χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὄρκων, ὑμῶν δ' ὡς ἐλάχι-
 στον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὡμόσατε
 ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην
 ἐσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς
 τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
 μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀλη-
 θές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς
 ὄρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἐξειν.
 οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἔνεκα.
 ἀ ἐγὼ προορώμενος, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογι- 27
 ζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους
 ἐν οἷς ἀν ἦ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τὴν τέλειαν
ταρπίδαν

82. οὗτος ἐστιν, ὡ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρῶν Σέρριον τεῖχος γρα -
 καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανί-
 δα, χωρία, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα γέδειμεν πρότερον.

ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἔχόντων τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἡ νῦν οὖτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὗτω γίγνοινθ' οἵ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θρᾳκῆς κατασταίη, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥᾳδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροίη πράγμα-
28 σιν. εἴτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδὲ ἀναγιγνώσκει. εἰ δὲ Βουλεύων ἔγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἔχρην με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγει. γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἥκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἡ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὁβολοῦ ἐθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφῃ. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβών, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη. λέγε.

76. ‘Υπόλοιπον δέ μοί ἔστι τὴν κολακείαν αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύσας οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεπείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φουνικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγειτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. καὶ ὅτ’ ἀπῆσαν, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὁρικὰ καὶ προϋπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μηησιφίλου, ἐκατομβαιῶνος ἐνη καὶ νέα, φυ-
λῆς πρυτανεύοισθης Παιδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παι-
ανεὺς εἰπει, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστέλλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς
εἰρήνης διμοιλογούμενας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ
καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἀνὴρ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ
ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι ἐκ
πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἥδη πέιτε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν
μηδεμίαν ἐπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἀνὸντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν
Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν
ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμοιλογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθη-
ναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρους συμμάχους.
- ἐσβεις ἥρεθησαν Εὔβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχύνης Κοθωκίδης,
Κηφισοφῶν Ραμνούστιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει 30
συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φρον-
τίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθῆντο ἐν
Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἔως ἥλθε Φίλιππος
ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἥμερῶν
δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλή-
σποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας
τοὺς ὅρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ
ἀν ἥψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἥμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἀν ὥρκί-
ζομεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἀν διημαρτήκει
καὶ οὐκ ἀν ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ
τὰ χωρία.]

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα 31
μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων

ἀνθρώπων τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὖ καὶ τότε
 καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ δια-
 φέρεσθαι τούτοις· ἔτερον δὲ εὐθὺς ἔφεξῆς ἦτι
 32 τούτου μεῖζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ
 γὰρ ὥμοσε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν
 τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ
 ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ὡνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ
 ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας
 τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Φωκέας εὔτρεπῆ ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα μή,
 δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρα-
 σκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περι-
 πλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρό-
 τερον κλείσαιτε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἂμ' ἀκούοιτε
 33 ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κάκεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη
 Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὗτοι δέ
 ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ μὴ
 καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν Φωκέας
 ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι
 τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπυ-
 στον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέ-
 σβεων ἀλλ' ἴδιᾳ καθ' αὐτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἄπαντ' ἀπώλετο.
 34 ἀξιῶ δέ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο
 μεμνῆσθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατη-
 γορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ'
 ἀν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιούμην ἔτερον, πάσαις
 δὲ αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἄμα τούτου κεχρη-

μένου ἀνάγκη κάμοὶ πρὸς ἔκαστα τῶν κατηγορούμένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ἥσαν οἱ 35 πάρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δὶ οὓς ἄπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἄπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἥσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῦν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἔχθρὸς ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τούναντίον ἔχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη Βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὅμοίως ἄπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον 36 αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἥσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὗτοι ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε 37 τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἄπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, καὶ βουλῆς γνόμη, μαιμικτηριῶν δεκάτῃ ἀπιότος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς ἐπει, μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιὰ παρενέστει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιῇ, ὅστι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρογρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἔκάστους, ἵνα παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε 38 ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὃς ἀν δὲ ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς πρυδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μή τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύη περὶ ἑαυτόν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδινάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἔτος σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Ηειρατᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἔκτος σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναὶ καὶ Ραμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

³⁹ Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός; Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν ἐπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. ἵστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἴσω Πινδῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑωτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅστι μὲν ἐκοινίσιος προσετίθετο τῶν πολιορκάτων, φροντίς εἰσαγηγόχότας εἰς αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λοβώντες καὶ ἔξανδρα ποδιγάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ πλεῦνοι ἐνοχλῆσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οἵδε μέτριον μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὅμοιως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα

οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμέγων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἔαν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὠμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθικέται ἀδικοῦτες.]

Ἄκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ 40 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους ὅτι “ἔγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων, ὥστ’ εἴ περ εὑ̄ φρονεῖτε, ὁ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἔχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε,” οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ρήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ὢχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μῆδ’ ὅτιοῦν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖνον ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. ἔξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαιπωροὶ κέχρηνται.¹ ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πί- 41 στεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δεῦρ’ ἀπαγγεῖλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων δύναρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιῶν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν

133. Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ’ ἵμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνίρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐκ ὄρθως βιωλευσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τήν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροπίνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτησάμενοι. 156. μηδ’ ὑπομιμήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τούτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὃν ἰερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπόλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον. 157. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τιῦς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγένεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοίαις ἀποβλέψατ’ αὐ-

Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ’ ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ
“Ελληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὡν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ
ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχί-
νη, καὶ τὸν Θηβαίους ἔλεεῖς, κτῆμ’ ἔχων ἐν τῇ
Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω,
ὅς εὐθὺς ἔξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος.

42 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα
μᾶλλον ἵσως ἀρμόστει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν
ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν
νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ
Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις
μισθωσάντων ἔαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ οὐδὲν
ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἔξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ
ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐ-
43 τῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ
καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτῆρα
τὸν Φίλιππον ἥγοῦντο· πάντ’ ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς.
οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέ-
γειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ

~~τῶι εἰς τοὺς συμφορὰς, καὶ νομίγωθ’ δρᾶν ἀλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν,~~
τειχῶν κατασκαφὰς, ἐμπρῆσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ
παιᾶς εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας γυναι-
κας, ὅψὲ μεταμετάνοιτας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἵκετεύοντας
ὑμᾶς, ὅργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἴτι-
οις, ἐπισκήπτοντας μηδεὶν τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον
στεφανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν διάμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακο-
λουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι.

δυσχεραίνοντες ἥγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ
 ἦν ὁ τι ἀν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες,
 ὅμοίως ὑμῖν πεφενακισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες
 ὃν ἥλπισαν, ἥγον τὴν εἰρήνην, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ
 ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιών Φίλιπ- 44
 πος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλούς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ ^{επιτάλλουσαι}
 μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν
 πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ^{ἀγνοοῦσαι} ^{under the}
 ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὃν εἶς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες ^{τοιαύτους}
 ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος, ἐπο-
 λεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ γῆσθάνοντο, ἔτερος ὁ λόγος
 οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προῦλεγον καὶ 45
 διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμ-
 φθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ
 πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ
 διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ
 πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ'
 ἡμέραν ῥαστώνη καὶ σχολῆ δελεαζομένων, καὶ
 τοιουτοιί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν
 οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν
 ἥξειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν
 ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν βούλωνται. εἴτ' οἷμαι 46
 συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς
 καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥᾳθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκέ-
 ναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τἄλλα πλὴν ἑα-
 τοὺς οἰομένους πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρα-

κόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἂ τότε ὡνομάζοντο ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἔχθροὶ καὶ τᾶλλ’ ἡ προσήκει πάντ’ 47 ἀκούοντιν. οὐδεὶς γάρ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ’ ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ’ ἐπειδὰν ὅν ἀν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῆ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἔστι, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδώς, τότε δή, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπη- 48 λακίζει. σκοπεῦτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ πάρεστι τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὡνομάζετο, ἕως προῦδωκεν Ολυνθον. μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας. μέχρι τούτου Εῦδικος καὶ Σῆμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππων ἐποίησαν. εἰτ’ ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ’ Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι, 49 καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὅν καὶ σαφέστατ’ ἀν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλεῖστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῶν, Αἰσχύνη, τοῖς

προδιδούσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοὺς ὑμετέρους βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἔστε σῷοι καὶ ἐμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἀν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἦτι 50 πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἰκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι· αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δὲ ἵσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτιοῦν εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καί 51 τοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπε που λέγων “ό τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὄνειδίζων ἐμοί.” ἐγώ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἴποιμ' ἀν ἐγώ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ 52 ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὕτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπ-

66. ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νῦν φάσκων εἶναι καὶ τότε μισθωτὸς Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα.

στεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον δ' ἔγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότερον ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Λισχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἢ λέγουσιν.

||

53 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἥδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Λισχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἣ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

54 [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώδου ἄρχοιτος, ἐλαφιβολιῶνος ἐκτῇ ισταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομίτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπίρεγκε πρὸς τὸν ὄρχοντα παραπόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀγαφλιστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράπομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀγαρεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίους τοὺς μεγάλους, τραγῳδοῖς κανοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῦ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἃς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἔστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἀν δίνηται ἀγαθόν,

55 πάντα ταῦτα ψειδῆ γράψας καὶ παράγομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐώτων πρῶτον μὲν ψειδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἴτα τὸν ὑπείθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι Δημοσθένης τειχοποὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίους τραγῳδῶν τῇ καιῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῦ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ

ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντή-
κοντα. κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος,
Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

“Α μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθη- 56
ναιοι, ταῦτ’ ἔστιν. ἐγὼ δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων
πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα
δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ
ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάν-
των ἔρω καθ’ ἔκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκῶν
παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ 57
λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δῆμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ
πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιέων ὃ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ
ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν
κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζο-
μένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε
Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ·
τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας 58
δῷ” στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν

II. κατιδῶν δέ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα
κυλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ
στεφανοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειληφότος τοῦ νομοθέτου
εὑρηνται κρείττονες λόγοι τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μή τις ὑμῖν ἔρει,
λήσετε ἔξαπατηθέντες. τούτων γάρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους
στεφανούντων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοι εἴσιν, εἰ
δή τις ἔστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων· ἀλλ’ οὖν προ-
βάλλονταί γε τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης. προσεγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς
τὰ ψηφίσματα στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύ-
νας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῷ. 12. καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἵσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖ-

στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἥγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὸν νόμους δεικτέον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἔξην τούτῳ. οὐτωσὶ μέν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦ-
59 μαὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἡ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστά με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. Εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὖσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἔγώ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιος εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

60 Ἄλλον οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἡ δ'

ται· προκαταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάναις αἱ εἰθναι· ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐιδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούοντις, ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν πιράνομι, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν τόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπενθύνων κείμενον καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν, ἦν ἔγω ἀρτίως προεῦπον ὑμῖν, ἀνελών, πρὸν λόγον, πρὸν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἔγω καὶ διεκαλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς 61 "Ελλησιν, οὐ τισὸν ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἔχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγονυῖαι· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς "Ελληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χειρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἔξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδούσ, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἀλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῦν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὃ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἴμι ἔγω. πότερον αὐτὴν ἔχρην, Λισχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἀλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' ἔώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ,

64 ταῦτα περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν
μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἀν
έροιμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν
ἔβούλετ’ ἄν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβε-
βηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἥς ἀν
Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ή τῆς
περιεωρακνίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἴδιας
πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἥς ἀν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνί-
65 ους καὶ Ἀργείους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων
πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλά-
χασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ώς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος
φέχετ’ εὐθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἥγεν ἡσυχίαν,
μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἀλλων Ἑλ-
λήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ἥν ἄν τις κατὰ
τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἐπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις
καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὅμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα,
τὴν ἥγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον
δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἡδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ
ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἔβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ
πεισθέντες;

66 Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Λε-
σχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ὅρωσαν ἕαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φί-
λιππον; ή τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἡ
γράφειν, τὸν Ἀθήνησι (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον
διαφέρει), ὃς συνήδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ’ ἥς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέ-

βην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυνῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἔκαστοι, ἔώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν 67 Φίλιππον, πρὸς δὲν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὁφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηραμένον, πᾶν δὲ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ 68 τοῦτο γε οὐδεὶς ἀν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὅντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἔγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμηταῖς καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὥμην δὲ οὐσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν πργόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδὲ ἀν εἰς ταῦτα φῆσειεν. λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγ- 69 καῖον ἀμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὥμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὥμεις ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐποιευόμην χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με

ποιεῖν; ἥδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς,
 Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον· οὐ-
 70 δενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι.[†] Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκου
 καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅστε ἄλλα ἡ
 πόλις ἥδικεῖτο, οὐδὲ εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι σύ
 γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν
 τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διο-
 πείθους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὅντων,
 οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὡς λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἀν βουληθῆσ.
 71 οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὐβοιαν
 ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπι-
 τείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχει-
 ρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ωρεόν, καὶ κατασκάπτων
 Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστᾶς ἐν μὲν Ὡρεῷ Φιλιστίδην
 τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἐλ-
λήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον
 πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν,
 εἰς ἃς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα
 πάντα ποιῶν ἥδικει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε
 τὴν εἱρήνην ἢ οὖ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναι τινα
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν
 72 ἔχρην ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἔχρην, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν
 ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὅντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείρ-
 γασμαὶ μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπών, περιείργα-
 σται δ' ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ
 ἀδικήματα πάντα ἀ πέπρακται καὶ ἀμαρτήματα

έμα. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὅρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον ἡνατιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προΐεσθαι διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα 73 λαβών, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Λίσχίνη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων, τίς τίνος αἴτιός ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηθομιῶνος, ἐκκλησίᾳ σύγκλητος ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὖβουλος Μνησιθέου Κόπρως εἰπεῖ, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρι Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ πιρὺ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμέντας κιταγήσχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι καὶ αἱρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἱ παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν 74 ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμέντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδέν· εἰ δὲ τι πλημμελοῦντα πιρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβών, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς δλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ὅλλα ἵδια ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστεύλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἔγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἰτ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἰτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἔγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

ΦΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἀρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἐνη καὶ νέᾳ, βουλῆς γηωμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἔχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνειεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δίγμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀγακομιδῆς καὶ ἐιτολὺς δυῆναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἴλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἰπποθοωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἴπεν.]

76 "Ωσπερ τοίνυν ἔγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὗτω σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὅποιον ἔγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἵτιός είμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἀν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἴτιάται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἔτεροις ἔγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

77 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηγαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δίγμῳ χαιρεῖν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο

περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέστεως ὡν ἐγανάρχει Λαομέδων. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ' οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λαυθάνειν ὅτι ἔξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῦς ὥπ' ἔμοι μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὥπο δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἴδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὅντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνοντις αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἔμοι. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κάγὼ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

'Ενταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' 79
αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἔμοι. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἔμοι γεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἡναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα 243.
τὴν εἰς Εὐβοιαν, ἦνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἥπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὄρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς 341
Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς 80

ἀποστόλους ἄπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερ-
ρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμ-
μαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῶν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι
δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πε-
πονθότων ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν
ὑμῶν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς
δ' οὐλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε
μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὔνους
έαντοις ἄλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάι-
τεις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἢ προείπατε.]

81 καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἀν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλι-
στίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὁρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος
ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος
ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν
ἄλλων μηδὲν ἔξελέγχεσθαι μηδὲ ἢ ποιῶν ἡδίκει
μηδένα ἔξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ
82 πάντων ἡκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου
καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρο ἀφικνού-
μενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Λισχίνη, καὶ σὺ πρού-
ξένεις αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ

218. τὴν δ' ἐμὴν πιωπήν, ὃ Δημόσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριό-
της παρεπείαστε· ὅρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων πιστρῶς
οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὅπτε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευτάμετος, ἀλλ' οὐκ
ἀπαγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύτει δαπάνης. σὺ δ', οἵμαι,
λιβύων μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας. λέγεις δὲ οὐχ
δύόταν σοι δοκῆ οὐδὲ ἡ βούλει, ἀλλ' ὅπόταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι
προκτάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνη δὲ ἀλαζονεύμενος, ἢ παραχρῆμα
ἔξελέγχῃ ψευδόμενος.

οὗτε δίκαια οὗτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε,
σοὶ δ' ἡσαν φίλοι. οὐ τούνν επράχθη τούτων
οὐδέν, ὡς βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς
σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ
σύ, ἀλλὰ βοᾶς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν
μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμάσαντες τήμερον.
στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, 83
καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς
ἀσπερ οὔτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρ-
ρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέ-
ρου κηρύγματος ἥδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὗτ'
ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχύνης παρὼν οὗτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγρά-
ψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδῳ Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἔκτῃ ἀπιόν- 84
τος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος
εἰπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιέν τολλὰς καὶ
μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς
τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε
διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἡλευθέ-
ρωκε, καὶ διατέλει εὖνοις ὃν τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει
καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἀν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθη-
ναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένη Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφα-
νῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ
θεάτρῳ, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου
ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύσουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.
εἰπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.]

- 85 Ἐστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει συμβάσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψῆφισμα ἡ χλευασμὸν ἡ γέλωτα, ἢ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἐάν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἦ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ' ὡς ἐτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.
- 86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.
- 87 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εύβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κὰν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἔτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. δρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἥθελον οὐδέ τὸν πρὸς τῇ πόλει συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ'

ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων 88
 ὃ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῦν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω·
 δῆλον γάρ ἔστιν ἄπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθή-
 σας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ
 κωλύσας τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ'
 ἔκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι. τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω.
 τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων
 καὶ ἀπλῶς ἔαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς;
 ἔγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἄπαντας, 89
 οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπεί-
 ρασθε. ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστὰς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ
 καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῦν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον
 ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς
 νῦν εἰρήνης, ἦν οὖτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦ-
σιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὅν
 διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλ-
 τιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἴτεῖτε, μὴ μετα-
 δοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς
 καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς
 τῶν Πειριθίων, οἷς ἔστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν
 πόλιν.

256. ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῆ Βυζαν-
 τίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβείσας ἐξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου,
 ἀποστῆσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνάνας, ἐκπλῆξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας·
 οἵεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐνθείας ἥδη προβεβηκέναι, ὥστε
 καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθὼ τοέφοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ
 συκοφάντην ἀνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

- 90 [Ἐπὶ Ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχω Δαμάγητος ἐν τῷ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν,
ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν
τε τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εἰνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίους καὶ
τοῖς συμμάχους καὶ συγγενέσι Περιθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγά-
λας χρέας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππω τῷ
Μακεδόνιος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ'
ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περιθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ
δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ
καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὄπλίταις ἔξειλετο ἀμὲν ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων
καὶ ἀποκατέστησε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὰς νόμως καὶ τὰς
91 τάφως, δεδόχθω τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περιθίων Ἀθηναίοις
δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιῶν, προεδρίαν ἐν
τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πράτοις μετὰ
τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλοισι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις
ἱμεν πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργιῶν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκα-
δεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν Δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη-
ναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περιθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ
καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύρις, Ἰσθμία καὶ Νέμεα
καὶ Ὁλίμπια καὶ Πέθια, καὶ ἀγακαρῆξαι τὰς στεφάνως ὃς ἐστε-
φάνωται ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ
Ἑλλανες πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περι-
θίων εὐχαριστίαν.]
- 92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στε-
φάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

- [Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυτον
Ἀλωπεκόνηησον στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆ-
μον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἔξηκοντα, καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν
ἰδρύονται καὶ Δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν

παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ιερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἀν δίνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93 σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἡ προαιρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὅν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωράτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὗ τί γένοιτ' ἀν αἰσχιον ἡ-μιαρώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' 94 οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὅν ἡγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὅν δόξαν καὶ εὔνοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτάσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἥδη τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἄπαντες ἵσασι· δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον ἡ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ρήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδὲ ἀν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι. //

"Ινα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95 Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμή-

σκων, συκοφαντίας οὗσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἥσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἔγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἣ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ιδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόν-

96 των ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπασαν, Μέγαρα, Λιγυναν, Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας νήσους, οὓς ναῦς, οὓς τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἀν ἔχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ'

97 οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἔγγυς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἔώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἥθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι, ὅρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κανέναν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῆ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς

ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἔγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἀν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐπού⁹⁸ ουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὅντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ρώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οὖτα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύστε διαλογισάμενοι. καὶ γάρ τοι⁹⁹ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κανότιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔξαμάρτη, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τάλλα ἔχετε, ἀν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἦ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὕτε μυησικακήσετε οὕθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοιαν οὐ περιείδετε,³⁵⁷ οὐδ' ὅν ὑπὸ Θεμίστωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὁρω⁵³⁶ πὸν ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὃν εἴς ἦν ἔγώ. ἀλλ' οὕπω περὶ τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ¹⁰⁰ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὅν ἡδίκησθε ὑπολο-

γισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἔτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας καὶ πάλαι γεγονίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάστας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας
 101 καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται. εὗτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὕστης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νὴ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἄπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἀν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἀν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γάρ ἡβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐκ ἔξῆν; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτα ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

102 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἣ τούτων ἔξῆς ἐποιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὅρων γάρ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἡ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἡνάγκαστα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἐπανσ' ἀδικου-

μένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ 103 γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἦ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἰεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἔân ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', Ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα δοκνήσαιμ ἀν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκό- 104 τως ἐπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῦ ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ὀνόμαζον ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ 105 εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηθομιῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἰπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημο-

σθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἥσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυείς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψύφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

106 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαλδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶτι, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἑτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἵσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένοις.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὔσιας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἔτι δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὔσια ἀποτετιμημένη ἡ χρημάτωι, κατὰ τὸν ἀγαλογισμὸν ἔως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἱ ἐλάττων οὔσια ἔστι τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαιτα.]

107 Ἄρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὅμῶν δοκῶ, ἡ μικρὰ ἀναλώσαι ἀν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεὶς ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων

κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἵκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὔτ' ἔξω καταλειφθείσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι.] καίτοι κατὰ τὸν προτέρους ¹⁰⁸ ~~intendit~~ νόμους ἄπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τὸν εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἴμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὃν ἄμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει, βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταῦτὸ τοίνυν ἥθος ἔχων ἐν τε ¹⁰⁹ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς 'Ελληνικοῖς φανήσομαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς 'Ελληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἡγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῆς πᾶσι τοῖς "Ελλησι συμφερόντων.

'Ηγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναι μοι περὶ τοῦ κη-¹¹⁰ ρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἀριστά τε ἐπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὗνους εἴμι ~~all~~ καὶ πρόθυμος εὑποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρη-

μένων δεδηλώσθαι μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστά γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναι με δὲν, εἶτα, καν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, δομοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

III Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τὸν θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὕτ' αὐτὸς ἡδυνάμην συνεῖναι τὸν πολλούς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὁρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο,

13. Λέξουσι δέ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἔτεροι λόγοι ἵπεραντίον τῷ ἀρτίῳ εἰργμένῳ, ὡς ἄρα, ὅτα τις αἱρετὸς ὃν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι, ὃς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ, κάκείνας, ὃς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγὸνς καὶ ἴππαρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τοίτων ἀρχάς, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ταύτας πραγματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. 14. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τοίτων νόμον ὑμετέρων παρέξομαι, ὃν ἴμεις ἐγομοθετήσατε λίστειν ἡγοιμεῖσθαι τὰς τουαίτας προφάγεις, ἐν τῷ διαρρήδην γέγραπται, “τὰς χειροτονητάς” φησιν “ἀρχὰς” ἀπάστας ἐνὶ περιλαβὼν ὅνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προτειπόν ἀρχὰς ἀπάστας εἶναι ὃς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, “καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας” φησὶ “τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων..” ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγύστου τῶν ἔργων· “καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι διαχειρίζονται τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ, ἥμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνονται ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων.”

ωσθ' ἄπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὅμολογῶ
 ὥν ἡ διακεχείρικα ἡ πεπολίτευμαὶ παρ' ὑμῖν. ^{monachos}
 ὥν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἴδιας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος ^{τις}
 δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος
 εἶναι φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα,
 οὐδ' ἀν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὥν τύχῃ. τίς
 γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρω-
 πίας μεστός, ωστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἴδιων καὶ
 ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον
 τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τὸν συκοφάντας
 δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὥν ἔδωκεν
 ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἰς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω,
 κάγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ^{τις}
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ^{τις}
 τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὥν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, “ἐπή-
 νεσεν αὐτόν,” φησιν, “ὑπεύθυνον ὅντα.” οὐ περὶ^{τις}
 τούτων γε οὐδενός, ὥν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς

17. Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης,
 βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Λέξει γὰρ οὗτος, “τειχοποιός
 εἴμι· ὅμολογῷ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέωκα τῇ πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ τὸ
 ἔργον μεῖζον ἔξειργασμα. Τίνος οὖν εἴμι ὑπεύθυνος, εἰ μὴ τίς
 ἔστιν εἰνοίας εὐθύνη;” Πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ
 μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ ὑμῖν συμφέροντα. Τέν γὰρ ταύτη τῇ
 πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαίᾳ οὕσῃ καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδείς ἔστιν
 ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ δπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων.
 23. “Οταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης λέγων, ὃς
 διὰ τὴν ἐπιδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε·
 “οὐκ οὖν ἔχρην σε, ὁ Δημόσθενες, ἔασαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν
 κήρυκα κηρῦξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἐννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς

ἐπέδωκα, ὡς συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς
 ἥσθα. καὶ διά γε τοῦτο ὄρθως ἐπηγούμην, ὅτι
 τάνηλωμένα ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων
 προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου
 δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν
 114 ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι δ' οὗτοι ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν
 τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἥθεσιν
 ὥρισται, ἐγὼ ῥᾳδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον
 352 μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἴδιων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν·
 εἴθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν
 Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἴθ' οὗτοσὶ Νεοπτό-
 λεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὢν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέ-
 δωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἀν εἴη τοῦτό
 γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἀρχοντι ἡ διδόναι τῇ πό-
 λει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἡ τῶν
 δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας
 115 ὑφέξει. "Οτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ
 ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ
 λαβών. λέγε.

βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἔαστον ἀμφισβητήσαι σοι τὸν βουλόμενον
 τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὡν ἔχεις εἰς
 τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς
 ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εὐληφώς. μὴ ἀρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ
 ἔξαιροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδὲ ἐμπρο-
 σθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑστερος πολιτεύον. ταῦτα γὰρ ὄρθοι τὴν
 δημοκρατίαν."

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[^τΑρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδοριμιώνος ἔκτη μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὄπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὅντων ἐν Ἰμβρῷ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ιῆσον, οὐ διναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διωικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὄπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἴδιας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Εἰπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώ- 116 μη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλα- μῆνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρί- δημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Πανα- θηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τρα- γῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆται θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.]

Τούτων ἔκαστος, Λίσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἥς 117 ἥρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ δί- καια ἔστι μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ᾧν ᾧν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἥρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐ- θύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ᾧν ἐπέδωκα. νὴ Δί', ἀλλ'

ἀδίκως ἥρξα; εἴτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

118 Ἰνα τούννυ ἰδητε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὃλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἔγραψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἀ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πιναρεψιῶνος ἐνάτη ἀπιόντος. φυλῆς πρυτανεούσης Οἰνηΐδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀια- φλύστιος εἶπει, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἴδιας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δίγμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῦς ἐκατὸν μιᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δίγμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾶ ὀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἡς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρωτῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀγαγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διοινσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀγαγορείσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

119 Οὐκοῦν ἀ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι· ἀ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῦν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἐσθ' ἀ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφῃ. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἀνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἔχθρος καὶ

βάσκανος ὄντως ποιός τις ἀν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν;
οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττε-¹²⁰
 σθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρύχθαι παρ-
 λείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανώσθαι πρό-

32. Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανόμως
 ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω.
 ὃ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, ἐὰν μέν τινα στεφανοῦ ἡ βουλή,
 ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλη-
 σίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. καὶ μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

33. Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει. οὐ
 γάρ, οἵμαι, φέτο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς
 τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν νομο-
 θέτης οὐτως· ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς; ἀναγίγνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

34. Ἀκούετε, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει ἐν τῷ
 δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στε-
 φανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ
 τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκών, οὐδὲ
 ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνίζομένων καιμῶν,
 οὐδὲ ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ἵνα μὲν συν-
 ειδῶτιν, οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν. 35. οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παρά-
 νομα γεγραφώς, παρατυχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐπούστει τέχνας
 τοῖς νόμοις· ἂς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἔξα-
 πατηθέντες. Οὗτοι γάρ, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύοντιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
 οὐχ ἔξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διονυσιακὸν
 νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν

τερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὗτω σκαιὸς εῖ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Λισχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἀν ἀναρρηθῆ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἔνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ

ὑμῶν, 36. καὶ παρέξονται νόμοιν οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ, καὶ λέξουσιν ὡς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, εἰς μὲν δὲν νῦν ἔγω παρέχομαι διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔτερον δὲ εἶναι νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἔξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγῳδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος· κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέσαι τὸν Κτησιφῶιτα.

40. Εἰ τοίνυν, δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλληθῆς ἦν δὲ παρὰ τούτων λόγος καὶ ἥσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἷμα, τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἔξευρούντων, τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις ἀγήρητ' ἀν δὲ ἔτερος τῶν νόμων, ἵτοι ὁ τὴν ἔξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν ἢ δὲ ἀπαγορείων· διπότε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερῶς δή που ἔξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῆ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδίνυτα γεέσθαι.

44. Συνιδῶν δὴ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενων νόμῳ, οὗτε λίστας ἐκείνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἤρωχλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέατρον), οὕτε ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθείς (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἀκεν ψηφίσματος ὑμετέρου στεφανούμενων ὑπὸ τῶν φιλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῖς οἰκέτας ἀπελευθερούντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἔστικῶν στεφάνων, καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μήτ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενοι, μήτ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου, φησί, μηδειός, ἢ ἀτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκυ. 45. "Οταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανούμενοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναρρηθῆναι, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανούμε-

θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἀπαντεῖς εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὸν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

[Οσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δῆμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύστεις τῶν στεφάρων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκάστους τοῖς ἰδίαις δῆμοις, ἐὰν μή τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῦ· τούτους δ' ἔξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχύνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, ¹²¹ πλὴν ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται· τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὡς ταλαιπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ

νοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπείπῃ μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῆ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται, πρωσαπείπῃ δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούστης βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, — ὅταν δέ τις ταῦτα ἀφέλῃ, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἔστι πλὴν οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι; 48. Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ἔξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν, ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἔξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν· ταὶ, εἴ γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῦ· εἴ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικταί σοι τόπος, ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ “ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” ὃ τι ἔστιν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις, ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφας.

φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγειν, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός,
καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς
ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὁμω-
122 μοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα
τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἂ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτι-
κῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγρα-
φήν, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἂ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγρα-

168. Ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἔστιν. ἐὰν μὲν τούνν πρὸς τὴν
εὐφημίαν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπητε, ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε, ὥσπερ
καὶ πρότερον, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὴν φέσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλιγθειαν, οὐκ ἐξαπα-
τηθήσεσθε. ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. ἐγὼ
μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν λογιοῦμαι, ἂ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημο-
τικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀτιθήσω, ποῦν τινα εἰκός
ἔστιν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀτι-
θέντες ἐκάτερα τοίτον θεωρήσατε αὐτόν, μὴ ὅποτέρου τοῦ λόγου,
ἀλλ' ὅποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἔστιν. 169. οἵμαι τούνν ἀπαντας ἀν δημο-
λογήσειν ὑμᾶς τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύ-
θερον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν
περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτρχίαν δυσμειήσῃ τοῖς νόμοις, οἱ σώζουσι τὴν δη-
μοκρατίαν, δείτερον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὑρεγεσίαν τιὰ αὐτῷ
πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν, ἢ τὸ γένος ἀναγκαιότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν,
ἵνα μὴ βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῆ-
ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν. 170. τρίτον σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρὴ πεφυ-
κέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίωταν, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν
ἀσέλγειαν τῆς διπλάνης δωροδοκῆ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου, τέταρτον εὐ-
γνώμονα καὶ διγατὸν εἰπεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προσα-
ρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν
λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γένενταν
αἱ τοποτάξειν τοῦ λόγου. πέμπτον ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχῆν,
ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐγκαταλείπῃ τὸν δῆμον.
τὸν δὲ ὀλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τάνατία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ
πάλιν διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δή, τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει.
οἱ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

φῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. καὶ βοᾷς ρῆτα καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἢ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὃ ἄνδρες ¹²³ Αθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτω διαφέρειν ἡγούμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὃν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἡς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἔχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ^{cont. h} ὑπεύληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα Γάπὸ τῶν ἴδιων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους⁷ ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, ἐάν τις ἡδικηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἶδὼς ¹²⁴ Λισχίνης οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῦν εἶλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιος ἐστιν ἀπελθεῦν. ἥδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Λισχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἔχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἴναι φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἴτα οὖ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴ περ ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ¹²⁵ ἀθῶος ἄπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς

ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἡ πλέον ἡ ἐλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἔχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποῆτ^ρ. Χειραὶ ταὶ εὐφράσια.

126 Ἐπειδὴ τούννυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἀπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τάναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὁν καὶ τίνων ῥᾳδίως οὗτως ἀρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἀν ὕκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι; — εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἡ Παδάμανθυς ἡ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὅλεθρος γραμματεύς, οὐκ ἀν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἀν οὗτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὡς γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ

166. Οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ρίματα, ὃ πῶς πιθ' ὑμεῖς, ὡς σιδήρει, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; "Οτ' ἔφη πυρελθὼν "ἀμπελουργοῦνσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατεμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμορραφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στεγά, τινὲς πρῶτον ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρονται." 167. Ταῦτα δὲ τί ἔστιν, ὡς κίναδος; ρίματα ἡ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

260. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὡς γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ἡ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα.

πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἢ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἡκούετ’ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὡς κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσίᾳ; ἢ καλῶν 128 ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἥς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ’ ἀν εἴς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἄν ἔτερου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοῖς δ’ ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιουμένοις δ’ ὑπ’ ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῦν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῦν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.] //

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ’ ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 129 εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ’ ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἔδούλευε παρ’ Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον, ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημεριοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλψίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἦρωι χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψε σε; ἀλλ’ ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δόκνω μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔάσω, ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δὲ ὡν 130

*Mit dem ersten ; sechsten ;
septem. und achten*

αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅν ἔτυχεν
 ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταράται. ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε
 —, ὁψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἀμ'
 'Αθηναῖος καὶ ρήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς
 προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν
 'Ατρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμινῶς πάνυ Γλαυκο-
 θέαν, ἦν Ἐμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἵσασι καλουμένην,
 ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι
δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν
 131 γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτως ἀχάριστος εἰ
 καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου
 καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς
 132 οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, Γάλλὰ μισθώσας
 σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ! καὶ περὶ ὅν μέν
 ἔστι τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ώς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
 εἴρηκεν, ἔάσω· ἀ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν φανερῶς
 ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

d 132 Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ δίδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα
 'Λυτιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώ-
ρια ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἥλθεν; ὃν λαβύν-
 τος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ κατα-
 στήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος
 οὗτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ώς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ
 ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ
 ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἀνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι
 133 ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου
 πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν

ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπε- αγαγ
ζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανή-
 γαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ^τ ἀν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ
 δίκην δοῦναι διαδὺς ἐξεπέμπετ^τ ἀν ὑπὸ τοῦ σε-
 μνολόγου τουτού· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες
 αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοι- 134 *καρ*
 γαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου
 τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν
 ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν
 κοινῶν, ὡς προσείλεσθε κάκείνην καὶ τοῦ πράγ-
 ματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπή-
 λασεν ὡς προδότην Ὁπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέ-
 ταξεν· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν
 ψῆφον ἐπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἦνέχθη τῷ
 μιαρῷ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει 135
 τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οἵδε, Καλλίας Σουνι-
 εύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος,
 ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἥμεῖς
 ἐκρίναμεν Ὡπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν,
 καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὡπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδό-
 την ἔιναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

136 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἵς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἔτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γάρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπειμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπειμψε πρέσβεις, ως ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερῶς οὕτως ὡστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτὸὺς ἀνισταμένους ὅμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τάναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

137 Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη· καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνήγει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερεΐδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσπαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχύνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον]

Αιαξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἐκατομβαιώνος τρίτη ἰσταμένου.]

Μυρία τοίνυν ἔτερός εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ 138 παραλείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πῶς ἔχει. πολλὰ ἀν ἔγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὃν οὗτος κατ’ ἔκεινους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἔχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ’ ἐπηρεάζων εὑρέθη. ἀλλ’ οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρὸν ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ’ ἦν προσῆκεν ὅργην, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἔξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῶν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέροντος ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾳδόν ἔστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συν- 139 αγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππω δεινὸν μέν, ὁ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πῶς γὰρ οὖ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ’, εἰ βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἥδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῦτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ’ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ’ ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ’ ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος, ὃ τι μὲν πώποτ’ ἐπραξεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτοσὶ ἰαμβειογράφος, οὐκ ἀν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδὲ ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ’ ἐλαττον ψήφισμα

οὐδὲν Λισχίνη ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει· εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἔμῳ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῦν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἡ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπὸ ἔμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἔτερα, ἡ τὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.]

140 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ήνίκα ἐργάσασθαι τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἔτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἡδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξειργάσατο, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος.

113. Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφιστεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες παραγομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἔξαγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἔξελεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς πυλαγόρων ἐγίους χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὥν εἰς ἦν Δημοσθένης. 114. χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πυλαγόρας λαμβάνει δισχιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμφιστέων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι. διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἔξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ὧτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφιστέουσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. 116. Ἐξηγγέλλετο δὲ ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων εὔνοιαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφιστεῖς ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δειῶς θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Ἁγριβαίους εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, πειτήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιώσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεὼν πρὶν ἔξειργάσθαι, καὶ

περὶ οὓς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν
Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξὶων δόγματα, ὡς
διαστρέψων τὰληθές. τὸ δ' οὖς τοιοῦτόν ἐστι·
πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνύψῃ σὺ τάκεῖ πεπραγμένα
σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὗτῳ πολλὰ ἔρεις.

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 141
τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν
ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύ-
θιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι
πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι
καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον
εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος
ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνων γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων), εὐτυχίαν

ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα “Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ
Θηβαίων ὅτε τάνατία τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐμάχοντο.” Μεταπεμψά-
μενος δ' ἐμὲ ὁ ἱερομνήμων ἡξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ
εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν
οὕτῳ προηρημένον. 117. Ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ προθυ-
μότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἄλλων πυλαγό-
ρων μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβούστας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἀνθρωπος
ἀσελγέστατος καὶ, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχη-
κώς, ἵσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐξαμπατάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένου,
“ἀρχὴν δέ γε,” ἔφη, “ὁ ἄνδρες Ἐλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδὲ ἀν
ῶνομάζετε τοῦνομα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἥμέ-
ραις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετ' ἀν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.” 118. “Αμα δὲ
ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας, ἷν ὁ Κρώβυλος ἐκεῖνος
ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξήγει
λέγων, ἂ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότ' ἐκαρτέρουν ἀκούων οὔτε νῦν ἡδέως μέμνη-
μαι αὐτῶν. ἀκούστας δὲ οὕτῳ παρωξύνθην ὡς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ
ἐμαυτοῦ βίῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆλθε
δ' οὖν μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην μνησθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ

μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἡ φιλονεικίας ἴδιας ἐνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

142 Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὐτωσὶ σφοδρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῆ ὁὗτος ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι

τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αἰτόθει ἐστηκὼς ἐδείκνυν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδίον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον). 124. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιωέσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γυνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῷν Ἀμφικτυόγων· ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομήμονας συγκαλέστωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σιτιθίοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ. ἐνταῦθ' ἥδη πολλὰ μὲν ἐγίγνοντο τῶν Ἀμφισσέων κατηγορίαι, πολὺς δὲ ἐπαινος ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἥκειν τοὺς ἱερομήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῷ χρόιῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα, καθ' ὃ τι δίκην δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσέis ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύορας ἐξήμαρτον. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώστεται ὑμῶν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

125. Τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ βουνλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὑμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως πάσης προαιροιμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφισσῆς ἀντιλέγοντος καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξελέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελ-

τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμ- 143 φίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἥλθε Φίλιπ- πος καὶ δι' ὃν ἤρεθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμώνι, ὃς ἀπαντὸν ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων, οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ δια- μαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ “πό- λεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλε- μον Ἀμφικτυονικόν” οἵ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων με λέγειν, οἱ δέ ἐθαύ-

θῶν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἴδιωτας ἐκφέ-
ρεται προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γρά-
ψαντος ἀπειρίαν. 126. τὸ δέ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι δῆμου ψήφισμα ἥδη
ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπεληλυθότος ἐμοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε
ἐπέτρεψα, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων· οὖν τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι
“τὸν ἱερομνήμονα,” φησί, “τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους
τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς
ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων,” εὐπρεπῶς γε τῷ
δινόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρῷ· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον
τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε
χρόνου γίγνεσθαι. 127. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ^ν
καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει “τὸν ἱερο-
μνήμονα,” φησί, “τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ^ν
πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλλεγομένοις μήτε λόγων
μήτε ἔργων μήτε δογμάτων μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς.” τὸ δὲ μὴ
μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότερα τάληθες εἴπω ἢ τὸ ἥδιστον ἀκοῦσαι;
τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔρῶ· τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς ἥδοντὴν λεγόμενον οὕτωσὶ τὴν
πόλιν διατέθεικεν. οὐκ ἐᾶ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς ἥμῶν οἱ
πρόγονοι ὕμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.
128. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ

μαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἴδιαν ἔχθραν
 144 ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἥτις δ' ή φύσις,
 ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμά-
 των, καὶ τίνος εἴνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ
 πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκω-
 λύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ
 μεγάλα ὡφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἴστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν,
 καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσεσθε.

145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ'
 ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θεττα-
 λοὺς ἔχθροὺς ποιήσει τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ
 ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων
 πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου
 καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ
 ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ'
 146 εἰσήγετο ὁν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὕτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάτ-
 τῃ τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὕτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλ-
 θεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε

ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτίονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πίλας
 πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἣς ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἀντοῦνομα εἴποιμι, μήθ' αἱ συμ-
 φοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ
 συνελθόντες ἐψήφισαντο ἐπιστρατείεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας, καὶ
 στρατηγὸν εἵλοιτο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν τότε τὰς γνώ-
 μιας ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῖντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου,
 ἀλλ' οἰδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν
 ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένης ὡς ἐγὼ
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπίγναγον. 129. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ
 στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ

Θηβαίων διεέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὅποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἔξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἔώ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν Γῆς ἴδιας ἐνεκ' ἔχθρας ἡ 147 τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἡ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἀν ἥγειτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἥγεμὰν αἴρεθῆ, ρᾶσιν ἥλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦθ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἡ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ 148 πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἡ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῦτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἀν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἦ καὶ παρ'

γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντό, τοὺς δὲ δὶς ἐνσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τούς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἦδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας στρατείαν ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανεληλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἥγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδὼν γεγενημένης.

νῦμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; 149 μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τἄλλα ἀφεὶς καὶ παριδῶν ἐπέραινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλινον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἦν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφιστεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἥτιάτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ὑμῖν, οὐδ' ἀ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῦθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήγετευσεν ὑμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτη κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ.¹ περιμόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἄπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν

ἱερομηνημόνων. ὡς δ' ἄπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφιστεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἥγαγε στρατιάν, ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἥγεμόνα ἥγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. καὶ 152 προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῦν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἡ ἐκεῖνον αἰρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἥρεθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἥγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν 153 οὖν μὴ μετέγγωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἀν ἄπαι τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μέν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινὸς εὔνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἔνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἔκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὗτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν.
λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.]

ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

154 [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἔαριτῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφιστεῖς ἐπιβαίνοντιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφιστεῖσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

155 [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἔαριτῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίστης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγεόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύονιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγεβῶν Ἀμφιστέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αἰτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἑλληνες οἵ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνέδριον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ’ ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ’ οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

[Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.]

Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἥν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον 156
οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ὃν εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης
σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμά-
των, τὸ ταῦτ’ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους
καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ
τοῖς Ἀμφίκτυοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο·
ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις
αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἥν. λέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ 157
συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὁζό-
λαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ιερὸν τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ιερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ’
ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ’ ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ
ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὑσεβῶν·
ῶστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπιστι-
τισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῶν, ὡς
ἴημεν ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηθομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι,
πανέμον. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς
δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν· κειμένοις ἐπιζημίοις. εὔτυχεῖτε.]

‘Ορᾶθ’ ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἴδιας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ 158
τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα
συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις
ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημέ-
νων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν

λέγετε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν παρ'
 159 ἔκάστοις, ὡς γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὅν εἴς οὔτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβήθεντα τάληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἀν δκυήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. ὃν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἴδοντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

160 Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἀ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἀ πολλῶν μὲν ἐνεκ' ἀν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἔγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.
 161 ὄρων γὰρ ἔγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἔκατέροις ὁ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἔαν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἔτοιμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς

έμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὔ- 162 βουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεί. οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μέν, ὃ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἂν γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἔμοι, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ ἔμοι κατηγορεῖς, Τῶν πρότερον ἡ ἐγώ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' 163 ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὗπερ ἔνεκα τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν, οὐδὲ ἀναλαβεῖν ἀνήδυνηθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὴν ἔχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ἥτε ἥδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἶσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἔκτη φθί- 164 νοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὡς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμέτέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν

εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσονται αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅμονιαν· διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἴ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσιον δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ἥρεθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σῖμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγύρας Ἀλωπεκῆθει.]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

165 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μητὸς μουνυχιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, πολεμάρχου γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αἰτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κῆρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσονται καὶ παρακαλέσονται αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὅπως ἐιδεχομέριως ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται· καὶ γὰρ, νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἥρεθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμον, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὔνομος Ἀγαφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

166 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἴρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμεγοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἴσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρός με πρέσβεις καὶ κῆρυκα συνθηκῶν

μημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ’ οὐδὲν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν πε-
πλημμελημένοι. ἔγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατα-
τίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἴμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς
ἀνοχάς, ἃν περ τοὺς οἵκ δρθῶς συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμ-
ψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρωσθε.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ 167
δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι’ ἃς μοι
τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναινεοῦσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι
διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλό-
μενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὅπ’ αὐτῶν παρακαλουμέ-
νοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν
πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προ-
αιρέσει. νῦν δ’ ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὸ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν
εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην καὶ
μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύ-
σασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν
εὐνοίᾳ. ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴστειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ
ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρωσθε.]

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλ- 168
λήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψη- ^{Ἐπι. απ.}
φίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἥκεν ἔχων τὴν
δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ’
ἄν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἃν ὑμῶν καὶ
τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν
τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἄπαντες, μικρὰ δ’
ἀκούσατε ὅμως αὐτὰ τάναγκαιότατα.

‘Εσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἥκε δ’ ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς 169

τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔξειργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλ πιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὸν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω 70 καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἤλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον κάκεῦνος εἶπεν, ἥρωτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” παρήγει δ' οὐδείς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κῆρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδείς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ρήτορων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας. ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν 171 τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιον ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἀν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οὖδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὔνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλου

σίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὔνοίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῦνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ 172 ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον δρθῶς τύνος ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακὼς πόρρωθεν, οὗτ' εἰ εὔνους ἦν οὕτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἡμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῦν εἰσεσθαι οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος 173 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔγώ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἂ μου δυοῦν ἔνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες *Δικαίως* τὸν νοῦν, ἔνδος μέν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἔγώ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέοντα' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἔτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι 174 “τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῦν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ', ἥγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἀν αὐτὸν ἥκούμεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὅντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὅρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν' ἔτοιμα ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ὥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς δ' ἔχει,” ἐφην, “ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ 175

μου. ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἡ πεῖσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων
 ἡ ἔξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται, τοὺς δ'
 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιον-
 μένους οὐδαμῶς πεῖσαι δύναται. τί οὖν βούλε-
 ται, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατείληφεν;
πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα
 τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπάραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιη-
 σαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιονμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἡ
 συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἂν νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν,
 176 ἡ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ'
 ἡμεῖς," ἔφην, "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον
 πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνῆ-
 σθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῦν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 οὖσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἂν εὑξαίτο Φίλιππος
 ποιήσομεν, εἴτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων
 τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾳ γνώμῃ πάν-
 των φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθωσιν
 ἀμφότεροι. ἀν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς
 τῷ σκοπεῦν ἄλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὃν ἀν
 λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δό-
 ξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει δια-
 177 λύσειν. τί οὖν φημι δεῦν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν
 παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἴτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ
 φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ
 τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις
 αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἐπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἑλευ-
 σινάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι

πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὅντας, ἵνα τοῖς
 ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἵσου γένηται
 τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ἴδούσιν
 ὅτι, ὡσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππων τὴν πατρίδα
 πάρεσθ' ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ,
 οὗτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βου-
 λομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ',
 ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥη. — μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι ¹⁷⁸
 κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυ-
 ρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ
 βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐλ-
 θωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι
 τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέ-
 χετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἱ-
 σχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρός) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι. βοη-
 θήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὅντων ἐν τοῖς
 ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἡ ἕκεīνοι προορωμέ-
 νων, ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν
 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἡ βουλόμεθα ὅμεν διωκημένοι καὶ μετὰ
προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν,
 ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκείνοι μὲν
 ἔαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἀν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν,
 ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγ-
 μένον." Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν ¹⁷⁹
 κατέβην. συκεπαίνεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδε-
 νὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα,
 οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα

δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

180 Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἔκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἀν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ' ἥρωα τὰν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἔκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάον τοῦ Κοθωκίδον σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὃν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἥσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἐπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΗΕΝΟΥΣ.

181 [Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰωνίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθέίης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς ἐπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνιθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδῶν τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς "Ελλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὖσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ προ-

άγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὡμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἂς 182 μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλίει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἔξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐιναὶ δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τίχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ ἔως μὲν πόλεις ἔώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ 183 ἴδιας, ὑπελάμβανεν Ἐλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ δρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζομένας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἥγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἑλληνας καταδουλουμένους. διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθη- 184 ναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἴδιαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας γαῖς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θαλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἵππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέ- 185 χεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἑλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἥγεῖται εἶναι ὁ 186 Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ

δόμοφύλω. ἀναμιμιγήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῷ έαυτοῦ
εἰς τὸν Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέ-
ους παῖδας ἀποστερούμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρώας
ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσατες τοὺς ἀγτιβαίνειν πει-
ρωμένους τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνους, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπον καὶ τὸν
μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἔτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν
187 ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ τὸν
ἀποστήσεται δ' Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
Ἐλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αἴτοὺς καὶ συμ-
μαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὄρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν.
πρέσβεις Δημοσθέίης Δημοσθέους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερειδῆς Κλε-
άνδρου Σφήττιος, Μιησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημο-
κράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

188 Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων
ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, (τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς
ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπη-
γμένων ὑπὸ τούτων.) τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε

141. 'Ο δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὁμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος
καὶ χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθέίης, ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταίτας
τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέριστα Δημοσθέίης εἰς ὁμᾶς ἐξη-
μάρτηκε, πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὄγροματι πολεμοῦντος
ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους, ὡς αἴτα τὰ
πράγματα δεδίλωκε, καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν; ταῦτα μὲν τὰ
τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέρεθος ἀπεκρίψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν
τὴν συμμαχίαν γεινήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιρούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς
αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι βο-
λεῖσθαι, 142. ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγα-
πᾶν μόνον, εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοι-
ωτίαν πᾶσαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίους, γράψας ἐι τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐάν τις
ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς
ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα,

τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὡσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ 189 ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλῶν οὐδὲν ἔοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μέν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὗτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τούτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καὶ 190 ρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαι τι βέλτιον,

ὡσπερ εἴωθεν, ὡς τὸν Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτήσοντας. 143. δεύτερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλογάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἔκαστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλογα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν, εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν, ἀρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. 144. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἔτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ κάγῳ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε. ἐκείνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην· συνείθισθε ἡδη τὰδικήματα τὰ τούτου ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὔτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

ἡ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὃν ἔγῳ προειλόμην,
ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὃ τι τις νῦν ἐώρα-
κεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἀν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἔγῳ
φημι δεῦ ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε

~~τις~~ ^{τις} ~~λαγ~~ ^{λαγ} ~~ρον~~ ^{ρον}, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔχρην ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν
φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι;
191 τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος,

Αἰσχίνη, “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” οὐ “τίς
αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων,” οὐδὲ “τίς
ἔγγυâσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι.” σοῦ δ' ἀφώ-
νου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
καθημένου ἔγῳ παριὼν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ
τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπὲ τίς ἡ λόγος, ὃντιν
ἔχρην εὔπορεῖν, ἡ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς
πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτούσι;

192 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν
ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐ-
δαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἡ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ
συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν
ἥμελλεν, ὡς ἔδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἡδη παρῆν,
ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας,
μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας,
ὡς ἀν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῆ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ
δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν
193 δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆσ, εἰ

κρατήσαι συνέβη Φιλίππω τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ
 θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἔμοι. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ
 ἄπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἴλό-
 μην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ
 φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἡ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς
 πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγ-
 καῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ' ἥδη κατηγόρει
 μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν 194
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων
 γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἀν εἴ τις ναύκλη-ρον
 πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα καὶ κατασκευά-
 σαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὅν ὑπελάμβανε σωθῆσε-
 σθαι, εἴτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων
 αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἥ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς
ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν,
 φήσειεν ἄν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὐτε
 τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.
 ἀλλ' ἐκεῦνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων 195
 ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἷμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί
 χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἐσχομεν συμ-
 μάχους ἀλλὰ Φιλίππω προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ'
 ἐκεῦνος πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν
 ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενο-
 μένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν
 πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας ταῦτὸ τοῦτο πάθος
 συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἀρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν
 μὲν στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία

ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ', — οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἃ γε μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὔνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἃς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.]

- 196 "Εστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ύμᾶς, ἀνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφῆς ἔξηρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχύνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβούλευεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἴ τοις ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ;
- 197 τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἀ λέγω (καὶ οὕπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), δσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἔτερα εἴπεις βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἀν τούτοις ἔχρωντο) οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχεις, ὅπερ δ' ἀν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἀνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν ἔξήτασαι, καὶ ἄμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἔχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχύνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ.

καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδο- 198
κιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἔστι
δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῦν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνενη-
νόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως
ἔχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι.
δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ
καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῶν
δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Λίσχίνης. ἀντέ-
κρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἶον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν
Λίσχίνης, ὥσπερ τὰ ρήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα,
ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, 199
βούλομαι τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς
Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ,
ἀλλὰ μετ' εὖνοίας ὁ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν
ἄπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προ-
ήδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προῦλεγες, Λίσχίνη, καὶ
διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδὲν ἐφθέγξω,
οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἰ περ
ἡ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰώνος εἶχε
λόγον. νῦν μέν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμά- 200
των, ὁ πᾶσι κοινόν ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ
ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δὲ ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν
ἄλλων, εἴτε ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππω προδεδω-
κέναι πάντας ἀν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα
προεῖτο ἀκονιτί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν
οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν

ἀν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἔμου. 201 τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἑωρῶμεν ἀν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμὸν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἥρεθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἔτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον 202 ἥρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἴσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἀν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἔαυτῆς ἔχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῦν καὶ ἐᾶν ἔτερον τῶν 203 Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἡδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἴσχυονσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα 204 τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκεν. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἥθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε^τ εἴναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοῖς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως.

τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἀν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων
 τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἱ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλι-
 πεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευσμένον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα
 συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλό-
 μενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπι-
 ταττομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον
 αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυ-
 ναῖκα αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἔζητον οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι 205
 οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύσου-
 σιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας
 ἔξεσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔκαστος
 οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν
 τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς
 εἵμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει,
 ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν
 δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερω-
 τέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς
 ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ
 θανάτου.]||

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ 206
 προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ
 ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἀν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. οὐν
 δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις
 ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτο
 εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας

τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἔμαυτῷ
 207 μετεῖναι φῆμι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὀλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ
 κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ
 κινδύνων αἰτίᾳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν
 τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἄπαν-
 τα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται.
 εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου
 τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ
 τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν.
 208 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ
 σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι 410
 προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν
 477 Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
 ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ 480
 πολλοὺς ἔτερους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι τούτοις
 κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἄπαντας ὄμοίως

181. "Οτι δὲ ὁρθῶς λέγω, ἔτι μικρῷ σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι
 διδύξαι. πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἴναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ
 στρατηγῆσας, ὅτ' ἐι τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσην ἐνικάτε,
 ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών; Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν Μα-
 ρυθῶνι μάχην τοὺς Βαρβάρους νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ
 Φυλῆς φείγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες: Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ δέ-
 καιος, ὁ τὴν ἀγόμενον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημοσθένει; 182. ἀλλ'
 ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις
 ἄξιον ἰγοῦμαι μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ θηρύου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀν-
 δρῶν. ἐπιδειξάτω τούτουν Δημοσθένης ἐι τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, εἰ που
 γέγραπται τινα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων στεφανῶσαι. ἀχάριστος ἂρ' ἦν
 ὁ δῆμος; οὐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων, κάκεῦνοί γε οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι

ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν,
 Αἰσχύνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ
 τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως· ὃ μὲν γὰρ
 ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται, τῇ
 τύχῃ δ', ἦν ὁ δαιμων ἐνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ
 κέχρηνται. ἔπειτ', ὡς κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύ²⁰⁹
φων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλαν-
 θρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια
 καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὃν τίνος προσ-
 εδεῖτο ὁ παρὸν ἀγὼν οὗτοσί; ἔμε δέ, ὡς τριτα-
 γωνιστά, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ
 πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαί-
 νειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια
 ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἀν ἀπέθανον· ἔπει²¹⁰
 οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δια-
 νοίας δεῖ τὰς τε ἴδιας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρί-
 νειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβό-
λαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἴδιων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας,
 τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων
 ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε

τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ ὕστο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὐ πεπονθότων, ἥ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου
 μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὖσα διαμένει. δωρεὰς δὲ τίνας
 ἐλάμβανον; ὃν ἄξιόν ἔστι μνησθῆναι. 259. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ
 αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων οὐκ οἴεσθε στενάξειν, εἰ ὁ
 μετὰ τῶν βορβάρων ὅμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀντιπράττειν στε-
 φανωθήσεται;

ᾶμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἔκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίητε κρινοῦντες, εἴ περ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

211 Ἐλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἀ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὅπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἔξεβην, βούλομαι.

‘Ως γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ’ εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ’ ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ’ οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐνεκα ἔμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ’ ἐπέμψα 212 μεν εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτῃ γ’ ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ’ εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἔμε φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ’ ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἔμε καὶ τὴν ἔμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ρήτωρ ἔγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι πρα-

137. Ἐλλ’ οἶμαι, οὕτε Φρυνώνδας οὕτε Εὐρύβατος εὗτ’ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὃς, ὡς γῆ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τάληθῆ, τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποιήσωτο οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν καιρόν, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν φίβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτούς, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ὑμέτεραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας.

χθέντων ούδεν Γάντω συνναίτιος ἐΐναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἴναι. πῶς ἀν ὡμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἡ καταρατότερος; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, 213 προσῆγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμῆσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἡξίουν ὅν μὲν τοις εὗ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὅν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, τηλείατ ὅποτέρως βούλονται, ἡ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς φόντο, ἐκ μὲν ὅν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τἄλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὅν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἀ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἔκαστα 214 ἔγω μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἀν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν

καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἀν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγειῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὅχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὃ τι δ' οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

215 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. ἔξῆτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὗτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παιδας καὶ γυναικας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἔτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παιδας καὶ γυναικας, ἐφ' ὑμῶν ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατά γ' ὑμᾶς ὅρθως ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὕτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῶν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δίς τε συμπαρα-

ταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῦς θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε²¹⁷ ἡδέως ἀν ἐρούμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἔπαινων ἡ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφράίνετο τοῦς πολλοῖς, ἡ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῦς κοινοῦς ἀγαθοῖς οἶκοι καθῆτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ δσια, εἰ ὥν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἀριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦ ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς δημωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο δρῶν; Λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἡμεν τότε, Θη-²¹⁸ βαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι νομίζουσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἐπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἐτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἔμοι. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἵας τότ' ἡφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τού-

τοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε
ἄν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καὶ μοι λέγε
ταύτας λαβών, ὃν εἰδῆτε, ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ
πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφί-
σματα, ἂν νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

219 Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γε-
γόνασι ρήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ,
Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἄριστοφᾶν, Κέφαλος,
Θρασύβουλος, ἔτεροι μυρίοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς
πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἔαυτὸν εἰς
οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἀν ἐπρέ-
σβευστεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἀν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέ-
λειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔκαστος ἔαυτῷ ἄμα μὲν ράστώ-
220 νην, ἄμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν;
εἴποι τις ἀν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ρώμῃ καὶ
τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω,
ἀλλ' οὗτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειλη-
φότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδόκει μοι
χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἴδιας ἀσφα-
λείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν πα-
221 ραλείπων τις ἂ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ'
ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ'
ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἀν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλ-
τιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρε-
σβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιό-
τερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον.
Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.]

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία,²²² Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὅν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς²²³ αὐτὰς συλλαβάς καὶ ταῦτα ρήματ' ἔχει, ἀπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὗτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὕτ' ἔδιωξεν αὐτὸς οὗτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημορέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὄπερείδην, εἴ περ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἀν εἰκότως ἡ τόνδ' ἔδιωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε²²⁴ μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι ταῦτα γραψάντων ἀπερ οὗτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' ἔαν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα. τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἀν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τότε ὁ νῦν²²⁵

ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἢ μήτε προήδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἀνῳγθη τήμερον ρήθηναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοὺς πεπραγμένους δοκεῖν
 226 τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔκαστα ἔχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἀν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους φυγῶν νῦν ἥκει, ρήτορων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

227 Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἃς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἥκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι,

59. Εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν ἔξαιφιγς ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιωῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκρόατιν, ὥστερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀιτηλωμέτων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεξώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. Ἐρχόμεθα δή που ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίστε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῆ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἔστιν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φίσιν, δότις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὅμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὃ τι ἀν αἰτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῆ. 60. Οὕτω καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε. εἴ τις οὐδὲν ἔκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἥκιντιν οἴκοθεν τοιαίτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἰρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — δότις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον.

ώσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τω^{Se Cl}
λογίζησθε, ἀν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν
περιῆ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ
λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοί-
νυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἀν
μὴ δικαίως ^{αβας} πεπραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ 228
σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὡμολόγηκε νῦν γ'
ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ
τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ
ἀν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὖσης
τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. καὶ 229
μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην
τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥᾳδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς
ψῆφους (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος
λογισμός) ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἔκαστα ἐν βρα-
χέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν
ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἥς οὗτος
κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου
συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὁ πάντες ὕστοι, μεθ' 230
ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν,
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἐπα-
κόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν
ὅρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς
φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν
Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον,
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον,
λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους

231 μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἀρά σοι ψήφοις δῆμοιος
ὅ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντα-
νελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον
μνημονεύθησεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προσ-
τίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὡμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ
τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἵδεῖν, ἐτέ-
ροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας,
ἢν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλό-
μενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρ-
ποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐώ ταῦτα.

232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν
ρήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἔξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συ-
κοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἀν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα
κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ρήματα
καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο,
οὐχ ὄρᾶς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ
ρῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν
233 χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν
τῶν ἔργων ἀν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ
πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ'
εἰσήσειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ'
ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων.
εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ'
ἔμοὶ τἀδίκημ' ἀν ἐδείκνυεν ὅν, εἰ δὲ πολλῷ μεί-
ζους, οὐκ ἀν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο

πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως
χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.]

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώ- 234
τας, οὐχ ἄπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους·
οὗτε γὰρ Χίος οὗτε Ῥόδος οὗτε Κέρκυρα μεθ'
ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ
τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλε-
γμένα· ὅπλίτην δ', ἵππεα πλὴν τῶν οὔκείων οὐ-
δένα. ὃ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ'
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρων, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεσαν τοὺς
περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω,
Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν τῆς πό- 235
λεως οὗτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀν ἔχοι
παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίπ-
που, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς.
πρῶτον μὲν ἥρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτο-
κράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν
ἀπάντων· εἴθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερ-
σὶν ἀεί· ἐπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἐπραττεν
ἄ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν,
οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς ἴσοις
φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδὲ ὑπεύθυνος ὃν οὐδενί,
ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος
πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος 236
(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἦν;
οὐδενός· αὐτὸς γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐδὲ ~~πρῶτον~~
μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἵσου προύτιθεθ' ὑμεῖς

τοῖς παρ' ἔκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ δσα
οὗτοι περιγένοιντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦ-
τα, δι' ἣν ἔκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ
237 τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβούλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως
ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἔγῳ συμμάχους μὲν
ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θη-
βαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ'
ῶν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι
δ' ἵππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνήχθη-
σαν· χρημάτων δέ, δσων ἡδυνήθην ἔγῳ, πλεί-
238 στην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἡ τὰ
πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἡ τὰ πρὸς Βυ-
ζαντίους ἡ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἡ περὶ τῶν ἴσων
νυνὶ διαλέγη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρό-
τερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔκείνων ἀγωνισα-
μένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὔσων τῶν πασῶν,
τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλατ-
τοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα
συμβούλεύσαντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἔωράτο (αισχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα
χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάν-
τος αὐτὴν διπλάσια τῶν ἀλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων
239 σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας
τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα
ἔχρην πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὃν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ
παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴ περ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς
παρόντας καιρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἡβούλομεθα

ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντιωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.

'Αλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπράγμένοις κατηγορίας 240 ἔχω, τί ἀν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππω, καὶ ἄμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἀν ἡ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθη- 241 σαν, ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα τὸν μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατῆς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὅμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἀπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὄρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἀν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις ἔτερα; πονηρόν, ὥς ἀνδρες 242 Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τάνθρωπιόν ἔστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἥκει πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; ὥσπερ 243 ἀν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιῶν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὃν ἀποφεύξον-

ται τὴν νόσου, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτῆσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα διεξίοι “εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὗτοσί, οὐκ ἀν ἀπέθανεν.” ἐμβρόντητε, εἴτα νῦν λέγεις ;]

244 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἡτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾶς ἐφ' ἦ στένειν σε, ὁ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρὸς ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὗτωσὶ δὲ λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτὴς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατε-
245 στρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρὸς ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἔνα ὅντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἐκάστου

225. *Ἐπειτα ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὡς ἐγὼ πινθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἀν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρός, ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύοι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίοι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιῆς ἀν ἐγένετο.

226. σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾶς, τίς ἀν εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος, ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεύσαι δύναιτο, τοὺς δὲ καιρούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀποδοῖτο.

ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἃς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὗτοι σκαιός εἰ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅν γ' ἀν ὁ ρήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος²⁴⁶ εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἔστι ταῦτα; ἵδεν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς έκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας ὅκνους ἀγνοίας φιλονεκίας, ἢ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τούναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὅρμην προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μή ποθ' εὔρῃ κατ' ἔμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ τούννυν τις ἔροιτο ὄντι²⁴⁷ νοῦν, τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὅν κατέπραξε διωκήσατο, πάντες ἀν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὕτε κύριος οὐθ' ἥγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φίλιππου· ὥσπερ

152. ἐτόλμησε τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. 155. ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνήρ, στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τὸν κάκιστον καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἔνεκα τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. 159. ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἐλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

γὰρ ὁ ὡνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὡνούμενον. ὥστε ἀγήτητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἔμε.]

248 Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἔστιν, ἀ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἦδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἐωρακώς πάντα ὅσα ἐπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκώς, ἥνικ' οὐδὲ ἀγνωμονῆσαι τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἔχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο. ἐπειθ' αἴρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἔχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὗτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία. Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὗτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν

τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεούς,
δεύτερον δὲ δὶς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους
ἐσωζόμην. δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα
δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' 250
ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς
διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἀρι-
στά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευ-
γον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην·
ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ
ἀδωροδοκήτως πάντα πεπράχθαι μοι προσωμολο-
γεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἔχόντων τί προσῆκον ἢ
τί δίκαιον ἢν τοῖς ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι
τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἔωρα
τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὁ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ
ὁ τὴν ἀληθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦσαν;] ॥ η.

Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ 251
μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ νὴ Δίου εὔδαιμόν
γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδε-
πώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γί-
γνοιτ' ἀν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρός γε τοῦ-

194. Ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνίνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος
δ' Ἀζηνιεὺς λέγων, ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἐβδομήκοντα
καὶ πέντε. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν
δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγαντίοις ἐφι-
λοτιμεῖτο, λέγων, ὅτι πλείστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα
οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς, οἶμαι,
σεμνυνόμενος.

τον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ᾽ ἐγράψατό με οὐδ’ ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὀμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

252 Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἡκιστα δ’ ἀφ’ ὅν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ’ ὅλως μέν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὁν ἄνθρωπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἴδεν, εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἐτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ’, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἄνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης 253 τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ’ ὄρῳ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμᾶς μαντεύομενον, τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἄνθρωπων, ἢ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινήν· τίς γὰρ Ἐλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ 254 πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπείραται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἐλλήνων, εἰ πρόσιντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ’ ὡς ἡβουλόμεθ’ ἡμῶν

συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετειληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἵδιαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν 255 ἔνδος ἡμῶν ἑκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἴδιοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτωσὶ περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὅρθως καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἵδιαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναι φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαῦλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετά- 256 ζειν, Αἰσχίνη, προαιρεῦ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, κἀν εὔρης τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδείς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὗτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἥγοῦμαι, οὗτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτού τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

'Εμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ τὰ 257 προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παιδῶν ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας

μήτε ἴδιας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἑλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανώσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν ἂ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν.

258 ἔγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἀν ἔχων ἔτερό εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαι τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνυνόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἦν παῖς μὲν ὁν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου

259 τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τὰλλα συνεσκευαροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν “ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος

260 (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω] μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους

ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὄδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ
μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς օφεις τοὺς παρείας
θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αιώρων, καὶ βοῶν
εὗοι σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὅτις ἀττης ἀττης
ὑης, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ
λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσα-
γορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα
καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς
ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὑδαιμονίστειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύ-
χην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὅπωσ- 261
δήποτε, ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφης,
εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἔξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμ-
ματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ'
ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἀ τῶν ἄλλων
κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ ^{το} ^{τιν}
Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα
βίω, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις 262
ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλω καὶ
Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ
ἔλαας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὅπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἄλλο-
τρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἦ
τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγωνί-
ζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἀσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῶν
πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὃν πολλὰ τραύ-
ματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων
κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ πα- 263
ρεὶς ὃν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἀν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ

τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα.
τοιαύτην γάρ εἶλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ
τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν
τῆς πατρίδος λαγὸν βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων
καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ
συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἡτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι,

264 θρασὺς ὃν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὥψαι. καίτοι ὅστις χι-
λίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων¹ ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος
παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιος ἐστιν; πολλὰ
τοίνυν ἔτερος εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω·
οὐ γὰρ ὅστ' ἀν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ
καὶ ὀνείδη, πάντ' οἷμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν ἄλλο
ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

265 Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοὶ²
βεβιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἰτ'
ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἀν ἔλοιθ,
ἔκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἔγὼ δ'
ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἔγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμά-
τευες, ἔγὼ δ' ἡκκλησίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις,
ἔγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἔγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον.
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἔγὼ δ'

266 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐῶ τάλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμε-
ρον ἔγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμά-
ζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι,
σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντη μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κιν-
δυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἥδη
πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος

τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῆ γε, οὐχ ὁρᾶς; τύχη συμβεβιωκῶς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

Φέρε δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας,²⁶⁷ ὡν λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἄσ παράγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ρήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνουν,

ἢκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
καὶ

κακαγγελεῦν μὲν ἵσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα
οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν δύντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος.²⁶⁸
Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἴδιοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἵστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ
φιλάνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ
καὶ οὐδὲν ἀν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων
οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἰ τινας ἐκ τῶν
πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἰ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα,
οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω
πως ὑπεῖληφα. ἔγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα²⁶⁹
δεῦν μεμνῆσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ
τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου.
τὸ δὲ τὰς ἴδιας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμήσκειν καὶ
λέγειν μικροῦ δεῦν ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ

δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι,
ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως ποθ᾽ ὑπείλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ
μοι.]

270 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἴδιων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἔτι μικρὰ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν
ἀνθρώπων ὁστις ἀθῷος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον
καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ
271 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ
σοι τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομά-
ζειν βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ
καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ᾽ ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν
ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόν-
θασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι
καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν
ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ
φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οὖν
272 ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἥγεῖσθαι; σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ'
ἀφεὶς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰ-
τιᾶ, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος
γ᾽ ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἀπασι, καὶ μάλι-
στα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτο-
κράτωρ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἢν ἀν
273 τοῖς ἄλλοις ρήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ
παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις, ἀεὶ δὲ
ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἡ πόλις προύτιθει σκοπεῖν,
πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλι-

στα σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὔνοίᾳ γ' ἔμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἔμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ὃν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω; παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὅρῳ 274 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις ἕκών; ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἔξημαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ. οὗτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὗτ' ἔξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἔαυτὸν δοὺς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα 275 πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἥθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὡμότητι καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ ὥστε καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἔμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.]

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ 276 μετ' εὔνοίας πάντας εἰρηκὼς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἔξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ τὰ προσόνθ' ἔαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου

καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκού-
οντας σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα
λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἄπαν-
τες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε
277 ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κάκενο εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν
δεινότητα — ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὅρῳ τῆς
τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖ-
στον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἀν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ
πρὸς ἔκαστον ἔχητ' εὔνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε
φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμ-
πειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν
τοῖς κοινοῖς ἔξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ
οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἴδιᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου
τούνναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησε τι τοῦτον ἡ προσέκρουσέ
που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ'
278 ἐφ' ἣ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν
ὅργην οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοι-
ούτων τὸν καλὸν κάγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ
τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ
βεβαιοῦν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι,
ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει,
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν
εἶναι ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸγ εἶναι τὸν πολι-
τευόμενον καὶ τὸν ρήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων
τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς
ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ

γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδι- 279
κήματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ'
ἰδίου, δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ'
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ
ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ
τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι^Γ ιδίας ἔχθρας καὶ
φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον,^ῃ οὐδενὸς
χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν
ἀγῶνας ἔάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἥκειν καὶ πᾶσαν
ἔχει κακίαν.] καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, 280
· λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος
ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ
ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἐστι δ'
οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ρήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ
τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα προαιρεῖσθαι
τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φι-
λεῖν οὖσπερ ἀνή πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὗτως ἔχων τὴν 281
ψυχήν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὔνοϊᾳ πάντ' ἔρει· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν
ἥ πόλις προορᾶται τινα κίνδυνον ἔαυτῇ, τούτους
θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς,
οὐκον οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσ-
δοκίαν. ἀλλ', ὅρᾶς; ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ συμφέ-
ρονθ' εἰλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξαιρετον οὐδ'
ιδιον πεποίημαι. ἀρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; 282
ὅς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύουν
πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις
συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνού-

μενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἵσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἔξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἀφρονεῖ; τῷ δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ καταράται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μεῖζον ἔχοι τις ἀν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὸς ρήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; 283 σὺ τοίνυν οὖτος εὑρέθης. εἶτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾶς; πότερον οὐχ ἡγεῖ γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἴ; ἢ τοσούτον ὕπνου καὶ λήθην ἄπαντας ἔχειν ὥστε οὐ μεμνῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππω πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἴδιας ἐνεκ' ἔχθρας, 284 οὐκ οὖσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἢ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ὠμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναι σοι πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὄνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἵσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνη τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἢν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὄρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτοι φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσι γεγονὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὄνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὃν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὑρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, 285
 καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὃν οὐκ
 ἡμνημόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ
 δῆμος τὸν ἔροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ'
 αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἔχειροτόνησε προβλη-
 θέντα, καίπερ εὐφωνον ὅντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι
 πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ'
 ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος
 σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὥμως καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὁ Ζεῦ
 καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἂ καὶ
 σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἀμεινον ἔχειρο-
 τόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως 286
 δὲ φράσω σοι κάγω. ἀμφότερ' ἥδεσαν αὐτοί,
 τήν τ' ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἦς τὰ
 πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν·
 ἂ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡρνεῖσθε διο-
 μνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὥμολο-
 γήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν
 ὃν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἔχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι,
 φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι.
 εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἔροῦντ' 287
 ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν
 κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὅμωρόφιον μήθ' ὅμόσπονδον
 γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξα-
 μένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν
 ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτο-
 χείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι,

μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν
ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο
δ' ἔώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ'
ὑμῶν οὐ. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμὲ ἔχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ
288 ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὗτως, οἵ δὲ τῶν
τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ
δήμου τόθ' αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως
πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον ὡς
παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τἄλλ'
εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκό-
τως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἔκαστος ἐκάστῳ μᾶλλον
οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἔγγυτέρω.
ῷ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μά-
λιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἂ μή ποτ'
ῶφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον με-
τεῖχεν.]||

289 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὁ δημοσίᾳ
προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῆς,
Λισχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα
καὶ συκοφάντην ὅντα καὶ μιαρόν. Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἵδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆμοιν ἔθεντο
ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἄιδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,
οὐνεκεν Ἐλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.

γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων σώματ', ἐπεὶ θηντοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις· μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἔστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν ἐν βιοτῇ, μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

’Ακούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὡς τὸ 290 μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἔστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τὸν ἄγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὁ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ᾧ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν;

Πολλὰ τούννυν, ὁ ἄνδρες ’Αθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα 291 κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστ' ἔθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ ὡς ἀν εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδὲν ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδὲν ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ὥστο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῦν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἔαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαροῖς οὐδὲν ὅμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν 292 τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὡσπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτο γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτὰ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτὰ χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. ὃ σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι'

έμει εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν,
οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως
293 ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ
ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς
ἡναυτιώσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πρατ-
τομένη, μείζων ἀν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὃν
τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὗτ' ἀν ἐγὼ ταῦτα
φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἀν ὑμᾶς), οὗτ' ἀν ὑμεῖς
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια
ἐποίει, οὐκ ἀν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ
μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέ-
βαλλεν.

294 Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῷ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα
ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου;
ὅς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατη-
γορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἀν εἴποι; καίτοι νὴ τὸν
Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς, εἰ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας
δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι'
ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς
ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἵς ἀν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν
τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνα-
θεῖεν ἄπαντες, τοὺς δόμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἕκάστη
295 τῶν πόλεων εὔροιτ' ἄν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ δέ τ' ἦν
ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῆ μικρά,
πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων
καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἴδιας ἔνεκ'
αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο,

τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἔκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ὡς δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος Κινέας Θρασύδαος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς Ἰερώνυμος Εύκαμπίδας, Ἀργείους Μύρτις Τελέδαμος Μνασέας, Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος Κλεότιμος Ἀρίσταιχμος, Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἔχθροῦ παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυωνίους Ἀρίστρατος Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος Δημάρετος, Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ἐλιξος Περίλαος, Θηβαίους Τιμόλας Θεογείτων Ἀνεμοίτας, Εύβοιάς Ἰππαρχος Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλεύψει μὲν λέγοντα ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ²⁹⁶ ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσίν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιων ὥνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἢ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλησιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἥσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.]

Ταύτης τούννυν τῆς οὔτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοή-²⁹⁷ του συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὃ ἄνδρες

236. 'Ηδέως δ' ἀν ἔγωγε, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὄμολογησαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις, ὅθεν τὴν

Αθηναῖοι, προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, η̄ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀν-
 θρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευ-
 μάτων καὶ ἔγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἴτα μ' ἐρωτᾶς ἀντὶ
 ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἔγὼ δέ σοι λέγω,
 ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι δια-
 φθαρέντων ἀπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρό-
 τερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου νῦν δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου,
 298 ἐμὲ οὗτε καιρὸς οὗτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὗτ'
 ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὗτ' ἐλπὶς οὗτε φόβος οὗτ'
 ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὃν ἔκρινα
 δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προ-
 δοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε του-
 τοισί, ὅμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἀν τρυτάνη ρέπων ἐπὶ
 τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἄλλ' ἄπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ
 δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων
 δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προ-
 στὰς πάντα ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευ-
 299 μαι. διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν
 τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν
 ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ;
 πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων

ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ
 τείχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργα-
 σθῆναι καλῶς τὸ γεγεινῆσθαι τοίτων αἵτιον μεῖζω κατηγορίαν
 ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας
 ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἴτειν, ἀλλ'
 ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἵτιον γεγενημένον τῇ πόλει.

τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἔτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. ταῦτα προὺ-300 βαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἔτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

Τί χρῆν τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301 πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὔβοιαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προϊδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκ-302 πέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόνησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυδον, τὴν Εὔβοιαν;

καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων
 τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὃν δὲ ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει,
 ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τούνυν ἄπαντα πέ-
 πρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 303 πολιτεύμασιν, ἂν καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὡς ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκο-
 πεῖν, ὅρθως εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δι-
 καιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἕκαστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα
 οὐδὲ ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, καὶ
 ὅσα εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν,
 οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ δαίμονός τινος ἡ τύχης
 ἴσχὺς ἡ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἡ τῶν προδιδόντων
 τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἡ πάντα ταῦτα ἐλυμαίνετο
 τοῖς ὄλοις, ἔως ἀνέτρεψαν, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ;
 304 εἰ δὲ οὗτος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν,
 εἰς ἐν ἕκαστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγέ-
 νετο, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰ ἔνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλίᾳ καὶ
 ἔνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδίᾳ ταῦτα φρονοῦντα ἔσχεν ἐμοί,
 οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν
 305 εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' αὖ, ἀλλὰ πάν-
 τες ἀν δύντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης
 ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὕκουν
 πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ.
 ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι
 χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον,
 λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβών.]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν κα- 306
 λὸν κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὃν κατορθουμένων μὲν
 μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ
 δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἔτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν
 εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν
 πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προάίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύ-
 χην κακίζειν τὴν οὔτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ 307
 μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πό-
 λει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος
 θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πό-
 λεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν
 ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἴδῃ τι λυπήσῃ,
 τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν
 ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὑπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις.
 ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα 308
 τῇ πόλει, ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς
 ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὕτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν,
 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ

216. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει καὶ τῆς
 σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος
 παραλείπηται, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου
 διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθὺς ἀρχό-
 μενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν
 οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. 217. καὶ νὴ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνω-

τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τάνθρωπινα). εἰτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ρήτωρ ἔξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωναστηκὼς καὶ συνειλοχὼς ρήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί, δῆσμον μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδὲ ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι 309 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχύνη, εἴ περ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γειναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς 310 ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἔχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἔξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κάγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ

μαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν, διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔκπτον οὐκ ἐκώλυνον οὐδὲ ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιών ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐξήλωκα, οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι, οὔτε τοὺς εἱρημένους ἐν ἕμιν λόγους ἐμαυτῷ ἀρρίτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τοίτῳ δημιηγορίσας ἐδεξάμην ἀν ζῆν.

τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὄποστο-
σοῦν, οὐκουν ἐπί γ' οἷς ἡ πατρὶς ηὔξανετο. τίς 311
γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει;
τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἡ κτῆσις εύνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ
πρεσβεία; τίς διακονία δι' ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμο-
τέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενι-
κῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται; ποῖαι τριήρεις;
ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τει-
χῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσι-
μος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῦς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῦς ἀπόροις πο-
λιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία.
ἀλλ', ὃ τāν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὔνοιά γε καὶ προ- 312
θυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὃ πάντων ἀδικώτατε,
οὐδ' ὅτε ἀπαντει, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγξαντο ἐπὶ
τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ
τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν
ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρῆλθεις οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας
οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὃς γε κεκληρού-
μηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων
πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες
ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμο-
ριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον.
ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος 313
ἔμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι
γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον,
ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ
σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἀπαντα πολιτεύῃ. ἐν τίσιν οὖν

σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός ; ἥνικ' ἀν κατὰ τούτων τι δέη, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

314 Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιον ἔστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτήτας εὗνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλ-
315 λειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεστί τις ἡ πλείων ἡ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἔχοντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι: μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἵστον, Αἰσχύνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταῦτα σοι προη-
316 ρημένων καὶ ζῶντων. κάκενο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἀμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρό-

257. "Οταί δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἥδη τοῦ λόγου σινηγόρους τοὺς κοινωνίους τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῇ, ὑπολαμβάνετε δρᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ φίλου, οὐν οὖν ἔστηκὼς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένως πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας, Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσιφον καὶ τροματίσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, αὐτῷ, δεομένον ὑμῶν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων, 258. Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς "Ελλησιν.

τερον εὐεργεσίας, [οὕσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἀν ήλικας,] τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γεγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ἄγειν, ἡ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὔνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εὶς καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ 317 πολιτεία καὶ προαιρεσις, ἀν τις ὁρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότ' ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὅμοία καὶ ταῦτα βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἡ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἥσάν τινες οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτὸ ποιοῦντες σοί. εἶτα λέγεις ώς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις 318 ἔγώ; σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Λίσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἔγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὡς χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, ὡσπερ τἄλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμ- 319 μων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καί τινων

189. Καίτοι πυνθάνομαι γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ώς οὐ δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλίμμωνά φησι τὸν πύκτην Ολυμπίασι στεφανισθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαύκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς, ὡσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἃς καὶ ἔνεκα στεφανοῦνται.

έτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέ-
στερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπήει,
ἄλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα
ἔμαχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο.
καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς
σαυτόν, πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐ
320 δένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὅν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλ-
τιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν
πατρίδα εὔνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ
κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἔμοῖς καὶ
ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἀπαντα
διώκειτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἱ
τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἂ μή ποτ'
ῶφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων ἀλλὰ τῶν
τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ
τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῦν ἔτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολα-
κεύειν ἔτερον βουλομένων ἐξέτασις, τηνικαῦτα
σὺ καὶ τούτων ἔκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ
λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ,
ἄλλ' εὔνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.

321 Δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον
πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὗτῳ γάρ μοι περὶ ἔμαυτοῦ
λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς
ἔξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ
πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ
καὶ πράξει τὴν εὔνοιαν· τούτου γάρ ή φύσις κυ-
ρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἴσχύειν ἔτερα. ταύτην

τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὑρήσετε ἀπλῶς.
 δρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἔξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς 322
 δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς
 καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλ-
 λόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς
 εὔνοιαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὅρθὴν καὶ δι-
 καίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμάς,
 τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος
 θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὕξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι.
 οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ 323
 καὶ γεγηθώς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν
 δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς
 ἀν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως
 ἀγαθῶν πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων
 εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυστεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἱ τὴν
 μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύ-
 ροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ
 ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἔτε-
 ρος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον
 μενεῖ φασι δεῦν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὡς πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπι- 324

260. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὡς γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ
 παιδεία, ἢ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, βεβούθηκα
 καὶ εἰρηκα. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγό-
 ρηκα, εἴπον ως ἐβούλομην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ως ἐδυνάμην. Υμεῖς
 δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων αὐτοὶ
 τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

νεύστειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω
 τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δὲ ἄρδεν
ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις
 καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν
 δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν
ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

Monday, Mar. 13, 1905.
 (R.P.K.)

N O T E S,

A B B R E V I A T I O N S.

Bekk.	Bekker's Edition.
cf.	Latin confer, i. e. compare, see.
Cu.	Curtius's Grammar.
Dind.	Dindorf's Edition.
Diss. or D.	Dissen's Edition.
Editt.	Editions or Editors.
fr.	from.
G M T.	Goodwin's Greek Moods and Tenses.
G.	Goodwin's Grammar.
H.	Hadley's Grammar, revised by Allen.
i. e.	<i>id est.</i>
K.	Kühner's Grammar.
Kenn.	Kennedy's Translation.
$\kappa\alpha\tau.\epsilon.$	$\kappa\alpha\tau.\epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha$, etc.
L. and S.	Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.
Laur. S.	Laurentian Manuscript S.
lit.	literal or literally.
Lord B.	Lord Brougham.
Madv. G. S.	Madvig's Greek Syntax.
MS., MSS.	Manuscript, Manuscripts.
$\Sigma.$	$\Sigma\iota\gamma\mu\alpha$, name of the oldest and best Manuscript of the text.
sc.	scilicet, namely, understood.
Schaef.	Schaefer's Edition.
st.	instead of.
V., Voem.	Voemel's Edition.
W.	Westermann's Edition.
w.	with.
Wh.	Whiston's Edition.
wh.	which.
Z.	The Zürich Edition of the text, by Baiter and Sauppe.

NOTES.

THIS oration was more commonly known among the ancients under the name of *pro Ctesiphonte*. Its merits were especially lauded by the ancient rhetoricians, particularly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Antiq. Orat. Comm.*, VI. 953 ff, ed. Reiske, and *de Verborum Compositione*, cap. XXV.), by Hermogenes (*de Eloquentiae Ratione*), and by Quintilian (*Orat. Inst.*, XI., XII.).

EXORDIUM, §§ 1–8. In this introduction the orator manifests a certain anxiety and timidity. Cf. Quint., XI. 3. 97.

§ 1. **πρῶτον μὲν...εὔχομαι**: to commence a speech w. an invocation was unusual among the Greeks. One notable instance is Lycurg. *c. Leocr.*: εὔχομαι γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς. Aesch. *c. Timarch.*, § 116, speaks of beseeching all the gods. But with the Romans this was not infrequent. Cf. Cic. *pro L. Murena*, *pro C. Cornelio*. Servius remarks on Verg. *Aen.*, XI. 301: *Majores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant.* — **ω̄ δινδόπες 'Α.**: for the nature of the court thus addressed vid. Dict. Antiq. sub *Dicasterion*, *Dicastes*; Grote, IV. 188 ff; Schoemann, *Greek Antiq.* — **τοῖς**: omitted by a few MSS. Dionys. Halic. shows that this word is essential to the rhythm of the sentence, wh. is *anapaestic*. The same reason is given for the addition of *ι* in *τούτοι* below. — **δοτην...** **τοσαύτην**: by reversing the order of relat. and demonstr. clause the orator makes more prominent the claim or ground upon wh. his request is based. — **ἔχων...διατελῶ**: what use of the partc.? H. 980, 981; G. 1578, 1580; Cu. § 590. — **ἐπειθ'**: the δέ correlative w. μέν is often omitted w. **ἐπειτα**. Cf. H. 1046, b; Madv. *Gr. Syn.*, § 188, Rem. 5. — **οἱ πέρ** has for its antecedent *τοῦτο*, the whole referring to *μὴ...ποιήσασθαι...ἄλλᾳ...τὸν δρκον*, thus: *that the gods may put that into your hearts which is especially for your interest, etc., not to make...but, etc.* — **εὐσεβειας...δόξης**: “*εὐσέβεια* refers to their oath in particular; *δόξα* to equity in general. For *δόξα*

in § 8 the orator substitutes *εὐδοξία* as more explicit." TYLER. — **τοῦ** belongs to the whole phrase. So Plat. *Repub.*, 352 d : ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντινα τρόπον χρὴ σῆν; Herod. 8. 79 : στασιάζειν περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ήμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται.

§ 2. **τὸν δρκὸν** : the oath taken by the *Heliastæ*. Isocr. 15, § 21, gives it in substance thus : ὅμνύναι ἡ μὴν ὁμοίως ἀκροάσεσθαι τῶν κατηγορούντων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων. — **δικαῖοις** : what these *legal requirements* were, Dem. explains more fully in his *Orat. c. Lept.*, §§ 94, 96. — **ἀκροάσασθαι** : so reads Σ ; the other MSS. have ἀκροᾶσθαι. What is the difference? — οὐδὲ : the force of *μέν* is continued. So in § 93. — **ἴστην** : the word ἀμφοτέροις, wh. follows in most MSS., is probably an interpolation from § 7. **ἀποδοῦναι** : what is the force of the *ἀπό* in this compound? — **τὸ τῇ τάξει...χρήσασθαι** : epexegetical of *τὸ...ἀκροάσασθαι* and *pred. nom.* after *ἐστιν*. — **τῇ τάξει...τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ** embraces both the *order* and the *matter* of the defence. The *τάξις* is made prominent, as it was in this particular that Aesch. sought to hamper Dem. in making his defence. — **βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται** : the perf. tense is used to indicate the previous preparation in accordance w. the practice of the ancient orators. — **ώς...οὕτως** : here again the relat. before the demonstr. clause. The attention of the judges is not called to *οὕτως* until its explanation (*ώς*) has first been given. — Dissen calls attention to the completeness of this first period, and analyzes it into three parts, of wh. the first prepares the way for the second, the second for the third ; while in the importance of the thought the same order is preserved. The orator now gives (§§ 3, 4) the special reasons for his previous request.

§ 3. **οὖν** = *igitur*, and is used here, as often, to indicate transition in the thought. — **πολλὰ μὲν, κ. τ. ἔ., now, while in many points...there are two wh. are especially great.** — **δὲ** introduces the principal, **μὲν** the subordinate sentence. **καὶ** is emphatic w. *μεγάλα* ; cf. *καὶ μάλα, καὶ πάντα*. — **οὐ περ τ. Λ. ἀγ.**, i. e. *I have more at stake.* — **έλειν τὴν γραφήν**, lit. *to seize the indictment* ; somewhat similar is our phrase, *to get a verdict*. Transl., *to win his case*. The loss of Aesch. in case of defeat would only be a fine of 1000 drachmae and a forfeiture of the privilege of instituting similar suits. Cf. Boeckh's *Publ. Economy of the Athen.*, I. p. 406 ; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 734. — **ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν** : by an abrupt stop, called in rhetorical phraseology *apostrophe* (cf. Quint. *Orat. Inst.*, IX. 2, § 54), the orator leaves his hearers to imagine the rest, since it would be *unpleasant* (*δυσχερές*) for him to allude to an unfavorable verdict. Other instances are found in §§ 22, 195. W. supplies the thought in this way : *but for me,—my whole political career is at stake in dependence on your approbation.* — **ἐκ περιουσίας**, lit. *from a superabundance* ; hence, *needlessly, wantonly*. We

understand Dem. to mean this: Æsch. jeopardizes nothing in this trial; he has but little to lose in case of defeat, nothing to gain in case of success. This prosecution, therefore, involving my dearest interests, has for its only gain my loss; hence, is undertaken in a spirit of simple wantonness and malice. Cf. *οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας πονηροί*, Dem. c. *Steph.*, § 67. Plato in *Theat.*, 154 D, uses this expression of rhetorical contests that were engaged in as a *pastime*. — *ἔτερον δέ*, sc. ἔλαττοῦμαι. — *λοιδοριῶν, κατηγοριῶν*: how these differ the orator shows in § 123.

§ 4. *ώς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* modifies *πᾶσιν*. For the constr. cf. H. 956; G. 1534; Cu. § 564. — *ἐνοχλεῖ*: this fact had not escaped Æsch.; cf. infra. — *καν... λέγω... δόξω*: cf. G M T. 444; H. 898; G. 1403; Cu. § 545. — *ἀπολύτασθαι... δακνύναι*: Diss. thinks the aor. is used w. reference to the single charges (*τὰ κατηγορημένα*), each of wh. was to be refuted, and the pres. to denote the act that is to be continued throughout the oration — *διπλανάναγκάζῃ*: cf. G M T. 529; H. 912, 916; G. 1428, 1434; Cu. § 554. The skill of the orator in making his opponent responsible for the odium of his self-laudation is commented on by Quint., XI. 1. 22, as follows: “Neque hoc dieo non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut eidem Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte, quod tamen ita emendavit ut necessitatem id faciendi ostenderet, invidiamque omnem in eum regeret qui hoc se coegisset.”

§§ 5-8. In these paragraphs Dem. repeats the request for an impartial hearing, but from a different standpoint. “What before he prayed that the gods would inspire the judges to do as a matter of piety and reputation, he now claims also as a right, while he enforces the claim by a combination of new considerations with the former ones; such as the greatness of the interest at stake, etc.” LARNED. — *κοινὸν εἶναι*: while the *legal prosecution* was against Ctes., the *persecution* was aimed at Dem., and it was important for the orator to emphasize at the outset the fact that his own personal interests were involved in this issue. — *πάντων*: in the sense of *οὐτινοσοῦν* = cuiusvis, as is seen fr. the opposition in *μάλιστα, κ. τ. ἐ*. In a similar sense *πανταχοῦ*, § 81. — *ἄλλως τε καν* = *both otherwise and especially if*. — *φιλανθρωπίας*: a virtue by wh. the Athen. considered themselves distinguished from the Spartans and others. An adroit appeal to Athen. vanity. So Dem. c. *Lept.*, § 109.

§ 6. *ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι*, *I request (as a right) and beseech*. Rhetorical fulness or emphasis. Dem. seems fond of using pairs of words nearly synonymous. Dissen gives the following instances fr. this oration, besides the one above: *ἔτραγῳδει καὶ διεξήγει*, § 13; *κατεψεύδον καὶ διέβαλλες*, § 11; *βοῶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι*, § 23; *δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται*, § 40; *προσλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην*, § 45; *οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι*, § 274; *λοιδορούμενος καὶ δια-*

σύρων, § 180; *πολεμεῖν* καὶ *διαφέρεσθαι*, § 31; *προορώμενος* καὶ *λογιζόμενος*, § 27; *μηδ'* *προορᾶν* *μηδ'* *αἰσθάνεσθαι*, § 40; *εἰδὼς* καὶ *ἐώρακώς*, § 248; *βοῶν* καὶ *κεκραγώς*, § 132; *εἰπεῖν* καὶ *ἀπαγγεῖλαι*, § 33; *ξώντων* καὶ *ծντων*, § 72; *ἔδιδαξας* καὶ *διεξῆλθες*, § 22; *διέβαλλε* καὶ *διεξήγει*, § 14. The student should be careful to give the *exact* meaning of these terms so as to bring out the shades of difference in thought doubtless intended by the orator. — *ὅμοίως* belongs to *πάντων*, as in §§ 61, 208. — **δικαίως**, *impartially*. Observe the emphatic position as far away as possible fr. its verb *ἀκοῦσαι*. Its force is more fully explained by *ωσπερ*, κ. τ. ἐ. — *ὁ τιθεὶς*, *the legislator, the founder*. So below, *τοὺς δικάζοντας*, *ὁ διώκων*, *τῷ φεύγοντι*, etc. are used substantively. — **Ἐξ ἀρχῆς**: “*originally*, not as the earliest lawgiver, but as the most influential. Hence *τιθεῖς*, wh. is strictly of one despotic lawgiver, whereas *τιθέμενος* is of a republic or community.” HOLMES. — **Σόλων** is lauded also by *Æsch.*, § 257. — **δημοτικός** is defined by *Æsch.*, § 168; cf. § 122 of our oration. — **τῷ γράψαι**: *γράφειν νόμον* = generally to propose a law in the popular assembly; but it may also mean, as here, to record or register by engraving on tablets or pillars of stone or brass. So *Phil.*, III. § 41: *εἰς στήλην χαλκήν γράψαντες*. Transl. thought it proper should be made *supreme*, not simply by recording them, but also by putting the jurors under oath. — **τοὺς δικάζοντας**: most editt. add *ἴμᾶς*, but the use of *ἴμᾶ* before and after this sentence makes *ἴμᾶς* superfluous. Besides, Solon’s legislation on this point applied to *all* times and cases; hence the orator first makes the general statement and then considers the application of this rule to the present case in the words: *οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ἴμᾶν*, κ. τ. ἐ.

§ 7. **φαίνεται** = *it is evident*, different fr. *δοκεῖ* = *it seems*, in the best period of Greek. — **αἵρετας**: *airia* is defined by Dem. c. *Androt.*, § 22, as a charge or accusation unsupported by proof, resting on the barren word of the accuser. It differs not widely fr. *διαβολή* = *calumny*. — *αἷς ἐκ... λοχύει*, *by which the prosecutor, on account of his speaking first, is formidable*. For use of *πρότερος* cf. H. 619, a; G. 926; Cu. § 361. 8. — **διώκων** (= prosecutor, Scotch pursuer), **φεύγοντι** (= defendant), **παρελθεῖν** (= to outstrip, to go by), suggest the figure of a race. — **καὶ...καὶ**: correlated, connect the parts of the protasis. — **τὰ δικαια** = *the legal arguments*, the points wh. the defendant may adduce for his defence. — **ἴστον...** **κοινὸν** = *impartial, common*. That the two qualities may be distinguished is seen in *Plat. Protag.* 68; *Eurip. Orest.* 9: *κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξιωμ' ἔχων* *ἴστον*. — **οὕτω**, *thus*; sc. after having furnished himself, etc. Diss. calls attention to the fact that the rhythm and weight of the sentence require *διάγνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι*, rather than the less emphatic *διαγνωσκειν*.

§ 8. **ὡς ξοκεῖ**: added not so much by way of sarcasm, as the Schol. believes, as to express caution on account of the general and broad assertion

involved in *παντός*. — *παρακαλέσαι*, to call upon or summon, as if coadjutors. — *ὑπάρξαι μοι*: the corresponding sentence in § 1 has *παρ' ὑμῶν*, wh. is omitted here by Σ. Most Editt. follow the other MSS. in adding it. — **τοῦτο** refers to the sentence introduced by *ὅτι* and is obj. of *γνῶναι*, the whole depending on *παραστῆσαι*, wh. in turn depends on *εὐχομαι*. Most Editt. insert *τοὺς θεοὺς* after *παραστῆσαι* as its subj. V. thinks this repetition would give a false meaning to the passage, as though the orator did not supplicate both *ὑπάρξαι* and *παραστῆσαι* from the gods. For similar omission of subj. w. infin. cf. § 141. — **γραφῆς**: cf. Lex. II. B. — On the structure of this exordium cf. Arist. *Rhet.*, XIV. 3. It may be considered with reference to (1) the prosecutor, (2) the jury, (3) the defendant himself. It answers all the ends of a perfect exordium, which aims, as Quintilian says, “reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles.” The prayer at its beginning and close is a fitting refutation of the calumny of Æsch., who had represented Dem. as a contemner of the gods and of divine omens.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 9–52. CHARGES FOREIGN TO THE INDICTMENT. (a) OF A PRIVATE NATURE (§§ 10, 11). (b) OF A PUBLIC NATURE (§§ 12–52).

§§ 9–11. INTRODUCTION OF THE TOPIC AND DEFENCE OF PRIVATE LIFE. *ἔδιωκεν...κατηγόρησεν*: *διώκειν* is said of the *legal prosecution*, *κατηγορεῖν* of the *oral accusation* before the court. Cf. § 15 *κατηγορεῖ, κρίνει*. — **προβουλεύματος**, *preliminary decree*, i. e. an approval on the part of the Senate (*Βουλή*) of a bill, wh. could then be brought before the Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) for ratification; receiving wh., it became a *ψήφισμα*. In the present instance, Ctes. had introduced a bill that Dem. should be rewarded w. a golden crown for certain public services. From the Senate the bill went before the Assembly; but before it was acted upon there, Æsch. brought an action called *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, *indictment for proposing measures contrary to law*, against Ctes., and thus prevented it from becoming a decree (*ψήφισμα*). — **κατηγόρησεν...διὰ ἀπελογούμην**: cf. G M T. 410 and 413; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. § 537. Explain the difference in the use of the tenses. — **κατεψεύσατο μον**: for the genit. cf. H. 752; G. 1123; Cu. § 424. — **τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις**, *criminationibus a causa alienis*, Diss.; by those irrelevant statements. — **ἡγμένος = παρηγμένος**. — **ἄλλοτριώτερον**: the Schol. says = *ἔξωτερικώτερον*, i. e. with an estranged or prejudiced mind. — **τῶν...δικαίων...μον**: critics are not agreed whether to understand *τῶν δικαίων* as genit. w. *ἀκούγ* and *μον* as possess., or as genit. of separation w. *ἄλλοτριώτερον* (*somewhat estranged from what is just under the influence of τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις*) and *μον* governed by *ἀκούγ*. The

latter seems preferable on account of the sense and the position of *μον*. — *ὑπέρ* = *περί* here. The distinction between these preps. lies in the fact that *ὑπέρ* originally implies the *interest* or *advantage* of the thing or person *concerning* wh. anything is, or is said. In the orators this distinction is first lost sight of, and the preps. are easily interchanged. Cf. *ὑπέρ τῶν ἀλλων*, § 10; *ὑπέρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων*, § 11; *ὑπέρ τοῦ πολέμου*, § 76.

§ 10. **λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε**: the nice distinctions between the words employed by Dem. to denote *slander*, *accusation*, *calumny*, *invective* (cf. §§ 123, 126), should be carefully observed; *λοιδορία* is the more general term for *invective*, *βλασφημία* is more specific and concrete, and denotes the scandals or slanders uttered by a calumniator. — *ἀπλά καὶ δίκαια*, st. *ἀπλῶς καὶ δίκαιως*, wh. are used in § 58. — *τοιοῦτον*, sc. *ὄντα*; cf. § 277. The supplementary partic. *ών* is often thus omitted by the orators; cf. Madv. § 178, Rem. 4; K. § 310, Rem. 5. — *ἀνάσχησθε...καταψήσασθε*: what is there in the form of this prohibition and command that gives special emphasis? Follow in transl., as nearly as possible, the order of the Greek. Lord B. renders this spirited sentence thus: “*but rise up this instant and condemn me.*” — *βελτίω καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων*: a standing formula among the Greeks; similar are *ἄγαθὸς ἐξ ἄγαθῶν*, *ἄριστος ἐξ ἄριστων*. — *τῶν μετρίων*, of the average or respectable class. State the argument of Dem. in this sentence. — *Ἴν...ἐνδέδειχθε...παράσχεσθε*: for this constr. cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3.

§ 11. **κακόήθης...εὐθῆς ψήθης**: a play upon words wh. is inimitable in Engl. Jacobs renders it by *argmüthig ... gutmüthig*. Dem. makes but sparing use of the Paronomasia, as it was called by the rhetoricians, and only where the thought is made more prominent by it. Cf. § 267; so c. *Aristocer.* § 202: *ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐλευθέρους ἀλλ' ὀλέθρους*; Phil., I. § 24: *ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ*; vid. Rehdantz's Dem., IX. § 18, for many more illustrations. Spengel remarks that Æsch. has nowhere made any such statement, and that this is simply an artifice of Dem. by wh. he would have it appear that he does not shun the direct issue. — **πομπέας**: a metaphor taken from the ribald jokes and abusive epithets uttered by those who rode in chariots in the procession (*πομπέα*) of the Anthesterian festival. For a specimen cf. Aristoph. *Ran.*, 416 ff. — *ἀνέδην, recklessly*. — *ἄν... ἀκούειν* $\hat{\eta}$: the uncertain position of *ἀκούειν* in the best MSS. (some placing it, as here, after $\beta.$, others after *τοντοιστ*) leads some critics to look upon it as an interpolation. In *Orat. pro Megal.*, § 3, the approved reading is *ὕστερον, ἀν ὑμῖν βουλομένοις* $\hat{\eta}$, *δεῖξω*, without *ἀκούειν*. For constr. cf. H. 771, a; G. 1584; Cu. § 435. The tact of the orator in adding, *if it shall please you to listen*, is manifest.

§§ 12-17. INTRODUCTION TO THE PUBLIC MATTERS IRRELEVANT TO

THE INDICTMENT. In this paragraph Dem. aims to prove the personal malice of this prosecution by pointing out its *indirectness* and *futility*. — **πολλά**, sc. ἔστιν. — **ἐνίων** defines and limits the preced. gen. ὁν as an appositive. Cf. Thuc., I. 6 : ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἱς ; Dem. *de F. L.*, § 260 : τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις αἰτῶν ἐνίων Μακεδόνες φρουροῦσιν. — **αὕτη**, sc. ἔστιν. So most Editt., in opposition to most of the MSS. wh. read **αὐτῆς**. We understand Dem. to mean this : " My opponent is not heaping charges upon me in order that I may be punished according to law, but his motive is this," etc. — **ἔχθροῦ μὲν** is the protasis of **τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν**, **μέντοι** being in antithesis to **μὲν**. — **ἐπήρειαν** : " a malicious disposition to injure others without gaining any profit one's self." — **ὑβριν** has reference to contumelious acts ; **λοιδορίαν**, to contumelious words. — **τῶν κατηγοριῶν**, κ. τ. ἐ., constr. w. δίκην ἀξίαν. — The argument of this and the following section runs thus : If the state cannot administer a befitting punishment so as to meet the ends of justice, a prosecution becomes a malicious persecution. This the state cannot do where the defendant has no opportunity of making a proper defence. This opportunity Aesch. has taken away from Dem. in three ways : (1) by bringing the indictment against Ctes. and not against Dem. personally ; (2) by bringing the charges so long time after the alleged misdeeds ; (3) by failing to make these charges definite and specific.

§ 13. **τὸ προσελθεῖν**, κ. τ. ἐ. : obj. of **ἀφαιρεῖσθαι**, wh. takes two accusatives (cf. H. 724; G. 1069; Cu. § 402; the personal obj., wh. by implication is Dem., being omitted. The omitted subj. of **ἀφαιρεῖσθαι** is Aesch. — The phrase **τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δῆμῳ** = *to come before the popular assembly as a speaker*. — **λόγου τυχεῖν**, *to obtain a hearing*. By this indirect mode of attack, Aesch. compelled Dem. to defend his public policy in the *court* instead of in the *ecclesia*, and as the advocate of another instead of simply in his own defence. — **ἐν...τάξει**, *in the rank or quality of*. For various uses of **τάξις**, cf. §§ 63, 173, 192. — **πολιτικὸν**, lit. *what pertains to a πολίτης*; *statesmanlike*, Lord B.; *constitutional*, Kenn. — **ἄλλ'** : Aesch. was in fault in two ways : in doing what he ought not to have done, *οὐ γὰρ*, κ. τ. ἐ.; and in *not* doing what was right, sc. to prefer these charges directly and regularly, *ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς*, κ. τ. ἐ. — **ἐτραγώδει** : the allusions of the orator to the earlier career of Aesch. as an actor, are neither complimentary nor infrequent. Cf. **ὑποκρίνεται** below ; **διεξών**, § 41, and many more instances. — **παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα**, *during or at the very time of* (**παρά** = *alongside of*) *the misdeeds*. This use of **παρά** w. accus. is frequent in the orators ; cf. L. and S. sub v. II. — **χρῆσθαι**, sc. **ἴδει** from **δεῖ** above. — **εἰσαγγελίας** : the **εἰσαγγελία** here meant was an extraordinary action of *impeachment* brought directly before the Senate or Assembly, for special or

peculiar violations of law not provided for in the ordinary courts. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 260 ff. — τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, i. e. in the peculiar way of the εἰσαγγελία. — γράφοντα...γραφόμενον: γράφειν = to propose; γράφεσθαι = to indict. — παράνομα, lit. laws contrary to existing ones; unconstitutional measures is a fair rendering. — παρανόμων: for the nature and operation of the action called γραφὴ παρανόμων, cf. Diet. Antiq. sub voce; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, 282; Schöm. *Greek Antiq.*, p. 483. — οὐ γὰρ...δύναται...ἔγράψατο: the force of οὐ extends over both parts of the sentence. Cf. §§ 16 and 288 for a similar use of the negat. Transl. for it cannot be that, etc....but that he would not have indicted, etc. — δι’ ἐμέ: how diff. fr. δι’ ἐμοῦ? Cf. note on δι’ οὓς, § 35. — ἔμὲ...αὐτὸν: cf. § 279. — εἰ περ...ἐνόμιζεν...οὐκ ἀν ἔγράψατο: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. §§ 537, 541. Account for the diff. of tense in the protasis and apodosis.

§ 14. ἀγώνες καὶ κρίσεις, trials and verdicts; these are the practical application of νόμοι and τιμωρίαι. — ὅπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο...ώμολογεστὸν ἀν: same form of cond. sent. as above in § 13, except that the relat. adv. ὅπηνίκα introduces the condition. — τοῖς...πρὸς ἐμέ, the legal remedies applicable to my case.

§ 15. τοσούτοις...χρόνοις: the events connected with the peace of Philocrates 16 years ago, and those connected with the Phocian war 25 years ago. — ὑποκρίνεται, he acts a part, i. e. he plays an underhand part in prosecuting Ctes. while really aiming at me. — εἶτα, then, thereupon, denotes sequence in thought or narration. — προτιθαται, puts in the foreground; not as a pretence or screen here, but as the real cause. — οὐδαμοῦ: in § 251 Dem. boasts that Aesch. had never brought a single action against him personally. — ἔτερον: difference between ἔτερος and ἄλλος? The genit. is one of separation. — ἐπιτιμίαν: if Ctes., in case of conviction, should be unable to pay the fine (*τίμημα*) of 50 talents, he would fall into ἀτιμία until the fine was discharged.

§ 16. καίτοι: a word of frequent occurrence. The part. τοι has generally an intensive or additive force; = and verily, and furthermore. — πρὸς w. dat. = in addition to. — ἀν...ἔχοι: potent. optat.; cf. G M T. 235; H. 872; G. 1327, 1328; Cu. § 517, Obs. 1. — ἀν λέγειν = either ἀν ἔλεγεν, one could be saying (but he does not), or, what seems more in harmony w. ᔁχοι above, ἀν λεγοι, one might say (if he would). — τὸν ἔξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι: spoken of the litigants, while of the judges the phrase τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἔξετασμοις is used in § 226. — οὐ belongs to the whole sent. τὸ μὲν...ἀγωνίζεσθαι...ἔτερῳ δ...ζητεῖν, and implies the repetition of δίκαιον ἦν. — ἔτερῳ... δτῷ. for the sake of emphasis st. ἔτερον ὅτῳ by inverse attraction. Cf. H. 1003; G. 1035; Cu. § 602.

§ 17. ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμίας, based upon, with regard for no truth. For similar use of *ἐπί* w. genit. cf. §§ 22, 226, 294. — ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης: the often referred to peace of Philocrates. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXIX. — τῆς πρεσβείας: the second embassy to Philip, for the purpose of receiving his oath to the peace agreed upon and sworn to by the Athenians. This embassy is known as *ἡ παραπρεσβεία*, and forms the theme of two orations by the rival orators. — ίσως, in Attic usage generally means *probably, likely*. — κατ' ἔκεινους τοὺς χρόνους, throughout those times.

§§ 18–52. EXAMINATION OF CHARGES MADE WITH REFERENCE TO THE NEGOTIATION OF THE PEACE OF PHILOCrates (§§ 18–24), AND THE SECOND EMBASSY TO PHILIP (§§ 25–52). τοῦ...Φωκικοῦ...πολέμου: for an account of this war, sometimes called also the Sacred War, through wh. Philip obtained the long-coveted opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of the Greeks, cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXVII.; Smith's *Hist. of Greece*, Ch. XLII. — συστάντος, having been organized. “συνιστάναι is to organize either for good or evil. The orator wishes to impute external agency, originating in Macedon or at Athens, as the prime cause of the Phocian outbreak.” HOLMES. — οὐ δι' ἐμὲ: Dem. disclaims having had anything to do with stirring up this war. Wh. joins these words w. οὐτῶ δέκεισθε, as if the orator would deny that he had prejudiced the feelings or warped the judgment of his fellow-citizens against the Thebans. But this seems uncalled for, since this prejudice against the Thebans was of long standing and generally understood. For allusions to this feeling cf. Dem. Oratt. 1. 26; 3. 8; 5. 15; 14. 33; 20. 109. — τότε: the first *public* speech of Dem. (c. *Androtion*) was delivered in 355 b. c., and the first *political* speech (*de Symmoriis*) a year later; but the difficulties wh. terminated in the Phocian War commenced in 357. The student will notice that Dem. regards as irrelevant (*οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ*) all that precedes his own political ascendancy, i. e. about 343 b. c. Cf. §§ 21, 60, and the note on § 60. — σωθῆναι: Athens, by reason of her hatred of Thebes and ancient friendship for the Phocians, though furnishing no active assistance, sympathized w. the Phocians. — κατέπερ...δύωντες: “This refers to the plunder of the Delphian temple; and we may notice w. what nice sense of decorum the orator speaks of the Phocians, who had been ancient allies of the Athenians, but whose conduct in plundering the temple of Delphi was condemned throughout the Grecian world.” LARNED. — Θηβαῖοι...παθοῦσιν, but that you would have been delighted at the Thebans suffering everything. For ἄν w. infin. cf. G M T. 207; H. 964; G. 1308; Cu. §§ 575, 576. — οἵσ...ἐν Δεύκτροις: at the battle of Leuctra, 371 b. c., the Thebans, under Epaminondas, gained the victory over the Spartans, and established their supremacy (*ἡγεμονία*), wh. lasted until their overthrow

in the battle of Mantinea, 362 b. c. During this period *they had not used with moderation* the advantages of their position. In their arrogance they had deprived Orchomenos, Thespiæ, and Platea of their *αὐτονομία*, and invested the city of Oropus, an act that was especially distasteful to Athens. Diod. Sic. XV. 79, speaks of the “Leueytic insolence” of the Thebans. — ἔπειθ': not temporal, but sequential here, as indicating the next item in the enumeration of facts. — διειστήκει, plur., to indicate the resulting state or condition, *was in a state of factum*. — οἱ μισοῦντες: sc. the Messenians, Arcadians, Argives, Sicyonians. — οἱ πρότερον...ἄρχοντες: the hated *Hermosts* that had been placed in command over several cities by Lysander immediately upon the close of the Pelopon. War. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.*, III. 5. 13; Isoer. *Pomegyr.*, p. 36. — ἄκριτος: *promiscuous and interminable*; a single word hardly renders it. Cf. *Il.*, II. 796: the μῆθοι ἄκριτοι of Priam; id. III. 412: the ἀχεα ἄκριτα of Helen. — Diss. calls attention to the graceful structure of this last period. First the general statement, ἡ Π. διειστήκει; then the explanation and description by the parts introduced by καὶ: finally the summing up of the whole idea in stronger terms, ἀλλά τις, κ. τ. ἐ.

§ 19. χρήματα ἀναλίσκων, *by larishing money*. Philip's skill in the use of bribes became proverbial. Cf. Horace *Od.*, Bk. III., XVI. 13. By his conquests in Thrace he had obtained possession of the gold-mines of Crenides, wh. are said (cf. Baekh, *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 10) to have yielded him an annual revenue of 1000 talents. — αὐτοὺς = ἀλλήλους: cf. H. 686; G. 996; Cu. § 473. — εἰτ', *then*, denoting sequence. — ἐν οἷς, κ. τ. ἐ.: the sense is that *by means of the errors and follies of others* he was advancing his own interests. — κατὰ, *against*, with hostile intent. — ταλαιπωρύμενοι: deriv.? — τοῦ πολέμου: the Phocian War, wh. lasted about 10 years. — τότε...βαρεῖς: because the memory of their supremacy was still fresh. — νῦν...ἀτυχεῖς: in 335 b. c. Alexander razed Thebes to the ground and sold many of its inhabitants into slavery. Æsch., in alluding to the fate of this city, says in his *Orat. c. Cle.*, § 133: Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἥντεραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται.

§ 20. τί οὖν, κ. τ. ἐ?: Dionys. Halic., περὶ Ἰσαίου, § 13, remarks that no orator has made such frequent and forcible use of the rhetorical question as Dem. *What then co-operated with him in ensnaring you as his almost willing dupe?* — ἡ τῶν ἀλλῶν 'E.: the art. agrees w. the nom. implied in *κακίαν* and *ἄγνοιαν*. *The — shall I call it baseness or ignorance of the rest of the Greeks?* Cf. § 271 for a similar turn. — πόλεμον συνεχῆ: the entire period of hostilities from the capture of Amphipolis in 357 b. c. until the peace of Philocrates, 346 b. c. — σώμασιν, *men, troops*. — διὰ ταῦτ': Dem., in attempting to free himself from the responsibility of bringing about this peace, skilfully avoids incurring the ill-feeling of the judges and the people,

by throwing the blame upon the *circumstances* and the state of public affairs existing at the time, rather than upon the people themselves. But, not satisfied with this, he adds very adroitly, that it was not the peace after all, but the corruption of the men engaged in its negotiation, that was the cause of the present troubles.—ἐν αὐτῇ : not *during it*, but *in relation to it*, i. e. in the transactions connected w. the peace.—ἀν...ἔξετάζῃ...εύρισει : cf. G M T. 444; H. 898; G. 1403; Cu. § 545.

§ 21. ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι, *scrutinizing and examining* or *persequor et commemoro*, V.; *weighing and sifting*, Lord B.; *faithful and exact detail of this whole transaction*, Leland. This might be added to the instances of rhetorical pleonasm enumerated in note on § 6. With respect to these pleonasms Diss. remarks the simplicity of the Greek as compared w. the elaborate ornateness of Cicero, who not only uses such amplifications more frequently, but often joins words employed figuratively to those used in a literal sense.—εἰ...δοκοῖη...έστι : a mixed cond. sent. Is this combination of moods common? Cf. G M T. 500; H. 901; G. 1421; Cu. § 549.—τὰ μάλιστα : adverb. accus., modifying *δόκιμα εἶναι*; the sense is *supposing the wrong to be ever so great*.—'Αριστόδημος : a celebrated actor who was sent by the Athenians as envoy to Philip, by whom he was greatly esteemed, to treat for the release of Athen. prisoners of war, who had been captured at the taking of Olynthus. Upon his return, Aristodemus reported to the Assembly the friendly feeling of Philip towards the Athenians, and his desire to enter into an alliance w. them.—τούτου, sc. Άesch.; cf. οὗτος, § 20. The opposite party in a suit is generally referred to by this demonstrative.—'Αγνούστος : Hagnus was the name of the deme to wh. Philocrates belonged.—οὐδ' ἀν...ψευδόμενος, *not even though you should burst with lying*, Kenn. The allusion is to the violent tones of Άesch., wh. Dem. often ridicules.—Εὔβουλος : one of the foremost politicians of this period, a friend of Άesch. and of the Macedonian party. His financial policy, particularly in leading the state to set apart large sums for the Theoric Fund (cf. note § 55), contributed not a little towards rendering the state bankrupt and demoralizing the people.—Κηφισοφῶν : mentioned in the psephisma, § 29, as one of the envoys sent to Philip; of the deme Rhamnus; probably the same person who is mentioned by Άesch. *de F. L.*, § 73, as a Parian and one of the friends of Chares. Cf. A. Schaefer, *Dem. und seine Zeit*, II. p. 182.—ἔγώ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ : this is a flat contradiction of the statement of Άesch. in the subjoined extract. Dem. in his speech *de F. L.*, §§ 15–18, denies that he was in favor of the peace on the terms proposed by Philocrates. On this disputed point we may adopt the view of Grote (Ch. LXXXIX.) as being the one probably most correct: sc. that Dem. supported the proposal of Philocrates for peace and alliance w. Philip, except that special clause wh.

excluded the Phocians; that this clause was subsequently repudiated by the Assembly, but, when the treaty was sworn to, the Phocians, in violation of this action of the Assembly, were tacitly and practically excluded through the misrepresentations and false promises of Aesch. and his party (wh. are referred to in § 35 of our oration), and that it was against *this feature* of the treaty that Dem. protested, though not until it was too late. The statement then of Dem. before us is not *absolutely*, but only *relatively* true. That he should have been at this time in favor of a peace on *almost any terms* seems not so strange when we remember the state of the Athenian mind in this period: "repugnance to military cost and effort, sickness and shame at their past war with Philip, alarm from the prodigious success of his arms, and pressing anxiety to recover the captives taken at Olynthus." Grote. — "It was the hopelessness," says Niebuhr, "of expecting aid from the other states that justified Dem. in being a party to the peace of Philocrates."

§ 22. **ἐπ'**...ἀληθείας: cf. § 17. — **ἄρα**, *forsooth*; inferential particle often w. a tinge of irony, as here. — **πρὸς τῷ...γεγενῆσθαι**, *in addition to having become*. For **πρὸς** w. dat. cf. § 16. — **αἰτίος**, *the guilty cause*. The charge made by Aesch. was twofold: (1) Dem. was the author of the peace; (2) he concluded it apart from the confederacy of the allies. — **καὶ**, *also*. — **κεκωλυκώς εἴην**: why the optat. ! — **κοινοῦ συνεδρίου**, *a general synod*, wh. met at Athens and was formed of the delegates of the new Athenian confederacy that had been constituted soon after the Peloponn. War. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXVII.; Smith, Ch. XXXIX. — **εἰτ' ὁ**: another instance of apopesis; cf. note § 3. — **Ἐστιν δπου σὺ παρὼν...όρων...ἡγανάκτησας**, *is there an occasion where you being present seeing me...expressed your indignation*. — **παρελθών**, lit. *passing along or by* (the audience), i. e. *coming forward* to the tribune or platform from wh. in ancient assemblies (as nowadays in the French and German parliaments) the speaker was wont to address the meeting.

§ 23. **τὸ κωλῦσαι**: the use of the art. w. the infin. here and in **τὸ σιγῆσαι** gives emphasis to the contrasted notions of these verbs, while the use of the aor., to indicate a single definite act, is in strong contrast to the pres. in **βοᾶν**, **διαμαρτύρεσθαι**, **δηλῶν**. — **ἔγώ Φιλίππῳ**: such juxtapositions for the sake of emphasis are frequent in Dem.; cf. §§ 255, 271. — **σοι**: observe its emphatic position. In the points just commented upon we have an illustration of the remarkable skill displayed by Dem. in the structure of his sentences. — **τότε**: after the fall of Olynthus, 347 b. c., embassies had been sent out by Athens to several of the Greek states in order to form a common league against Philip. Both orators confess that these embassies

were fruitless. Cf. Aesch. *de F. L.*, § 79. Aesch. charges his rival w. precipitating the negotiations of the peace so as to prevent the allies and confederates of Athens from participating in the treaty. The statements of the two orators upon this point are hopelessly conflicting. Professor Tyler adopts the conclusion of Grote, that not *all* the envoys had yet returned, but some were still absent when the peace was concluded. A. Schaeff., II. 200 ff. believes that all had returned, but that the states to which embassies had been sent, having declined to join Athens in a league against Philip, and being at peace with him, had of course no interest in the treaty now under consideration. However these points under dispute may be decided, there seems no doubt that the sentiments of *all had been thoroughly tested* (*πάντες ἐξεληγμένοι*), and were fully understood at Athens.

§ 24. *χωρὶς...ψεύδεται*: “Dem. not merely refutes, but makes the refutation an occasion of *attack*. We have already had examples in §§ 10, 11.” LEARNED. — *εἰ παρεκαλεῖτε...ἐπέμπετε...διεπράττεσθε*: cf. G M T. 402; H. 893; G. 1390; Cu. § 536. — *Εὐρυβάτου*: an Ephesian who was sent by Crœsus into the Peloponnesus with money to raise mercenaries, and deserted to Cyrus, his rival. This name became proverbial for treachery and knavishness; thence is derived the verb *εὐρυβατεύεσθαι*. — *τι γὰρ καὶ β.*, *for with what desire even*. — *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καίρῳ*, *at this juncture*, i. e. while the Athenians were considering the terms of a peace w. Philip, the attempt to unite the Greek states against him having been abandoned. — *ἄπασιν*, i. e. to *all* whom the Athenians had asked to unite against Philip. — *ἄλλ'...ἴβουλεύεσθε*: a rhetorical syllogism whose conclusion is probable. For similar dilemmas cf. §§ 124, 125, 139, 196, 217. — *οὐκοῦν*: some MSS. read *οὐκοῦν*; what is the difference? — *ἔξ ἀρχῆς*: the *original* peace of Philocrates is by this designation distinguished from the peace of Demades made after Chæronea. — *οὔτε...οὐδὲ...οὔτε*: *οὐδὲ* is subordinate and emphatic, *οὔτε...οὔτε* being co-ordinate, *neither...nor even...nor*. It will be noticed how with the last *οὔτε* the orator adds an inference from the preceding, just as at the close of § 23 with *οὐθ' οὐτος ὥγιες*, *κ. τ. ἐ*. — *ῳν...δν*: for this partic. constr. cf. H. 981; G. 1588; Cu. §§ 590, 593.

§§ 25–41. PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE, AND ITS IMMEDIATE RESULTS. — *καὶ γὰρ*: not elliptical here, but *καὶ* in the sense of *also*, i. e. *also from these affairs*, just as from those above rehearsed. — *ἔγραψα βουλεύων*, *as senator moved a resolution*. — *τὴν ταχιστὴν*: the importance of this haste is manifest. This motion was made by Dem. on the 3d of Munychion (April 29), some 7 days after Antipater as representative of Philip had taken the oath fr. the Athenians. — *ἄν...πνυθάνωνται*: st. *πνυθάνουστο*, as it is more significant to give the words of the decree in a direct form. — *ἀπολαμβάνειν*: what is the force of *ἀπό* here? Cf. *ἀποδοῦναι* in § 26.

§ 26. *τι...ἡδύνατο, quod hoc sibi volebat?* Diss. *What was the intent of this (sc. my resolution)?* — Φιλίππω μὲν...ὑμῖν δὲ: the student will not fail to notice the balanced structure of this sentence. — ἀφ' ἡς...ἡμέρας = ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἥ. Cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3. — *τοῦτο*: alludes to what? Reiske says to ὡς πλεῖστον...τῶν ὅρκων; but this interval of time between the oaths had itself for its ulterior aim the cessation from preparations for war on the part of the Athenians. With W., therefore, we make *τοῦτο* refer to *πάσας ἔξελύσατε, κ. τ. ἐ.* — ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου: ἐκ w. genit. expresses time from its first beginning, including the whole extent of the period until the end. Lit. *from all the time*, i. e. *from first to last*. Cf. § 203. — *ὅσα τῆς πόλεως*, *whatever possessions of the city*; referring particularly to Philip's conquests in Thrace of places in alliance w. Athens. — *προλάβοι*: cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; G. 1431. 2; Cu. § 555. The action in the partic. *νομίζω* is *repeated or continued*, i. e. in each case or all the while *supposing*.

§ 27. *ἐν οἷς ἀν* §: cf. note on *ἀν πινθάνωνται* above. — *ἵν...* γιγνόνθε: past purpose after *γράψω* an historic present; cf. G M T. 33; H. 828; G. 1252, 1268; Cu. § 487. — *διέσυρε*, *ridiculed*. The corresponding passage in Aesch. (§ 82) shows an intentional perversion of these names: as, Μυρτίσκην st. Μυρτηύν; Γανίδα, wh. is simply a play upon the sound of Γάρος; Σέρπιον is mentioned by Herod. VII. 59, and by Dem. *Phil.*, III. 16; Harpocration in his Lex. mentions Μυρταύν and Εργίσκη. — *οὕτω*, *under these circumstances*. — *τοὺς ἐπικαίρους*, *the favorably located ones*; alluding to the importance of these places in a military point of view, since they were situated in the vicinity of the Thracian Chersonesus, wh. belonged to the Athenians. — *πολλῶν χρημάτων*: cf. note § 19.

§ 28. *εἰτα*, *then or thereupon*, to indicate sequence of thought. — *οὐχὶ λέγει...ἀναγιγνώσκει*, *he does not cite, nor does he read*. The distinction between these verbs as indicated in our translation is not always maintained in the orators. Below, e. g. *λέγει* is used in the sense of *read* or *cause to be read*, and is addressed to the *γραμματεῖς* or clerk of the Archons. — *προσάγειν*, *to introduce*. “Foreign ambassadors were introduced to an audience with the people by a resolution of the Senate (cf. Aesch. *de F. L.*, § 58). Demosthenes as Senator moved that Philip's envoys should be introduced to the people for the purpose of discussing the conditions of the proposed peace.” Wh. — *τοῦτο μον διαβάλλει*, *with this he taunts me*. For this genit. cf. II. 751; G. 1132; Cu. § 424. 8. Cf. § 299: *τὸν τειχισμὸν δν σύ μον διέσυρες*. — *μὴ*: this negat. introduces the whole question and expects the answer *no*, but its special force falls upon the nearest verb *προσάγειν*, *to propose not to introduce*, etc. — *διαλεχθῶσιν*: the subj. st. optat., for the sake of vividness of narration. Cf. G M T. 321; H. 881 a;

G. 1369 ; Cu. §§ 531. 1 ; 532, Obs. — **θέατρον** : this was the so-called *προεδρία*, a distinction conferred upon the guests of the state by resolution of the Senate. — **τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα**, the lessee of the theatre, called also *θεατρώνης*, *θεατροπώλης*, who paid a certain rent to the state, kept the buildings in repair, and received the entrance fees. — **ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν δύολοῖν**, in the two-obol seats, i. e. the seats of the common people, for which two obols were paid. Cf. Bœckh. *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 304. The price is put for the place, and the expression seems to be colloquial ; so *οἱ ἵχθυες* = *the fish-market*, *τὰ βιβλία* = *the book-market*. Some Edit. prefer to take *ἐν* w. the dat. as expressing means, i. e. *by the payment of two obols*. — **μικρὰ** : this word is not found in the original reading of Σ, and is therefore omitted by the Edit. of our text. In retaining it w. the other MSS. I am particularly influenced by the remark of V. that the word is necessary to express the antithesis to *τὰ δλα*. The orator means this : to exercise care over such small matters as the expenditure of a few obols or the bestowal of some attention upon the guests of the state, this, as compared w. guarding the general interests (*τὰ δλα*) of the state, is not worth the mention.

§ 29. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ** : there are in all 35 of these documents referred to in the course of the oration, of wh. 28 purport to be given in full and 7 are mentioned only by name. The fact that in most of the speeches of the Attic orators the documents are omitted, their names merely being given, has of itself awakened suspicion concerning the genuineness of those contained in this oration. It is sufficient for the practical purpose of the student to know that the majority of modern critics regard these documents as spurious. The internal evilence for this opinion will be given in the case of a few. Those who desire to weigh the arguments pro and con upon this long-disputed question, are referred to Professor Champlin's summary in an Appendix to his edition of this oration ; to the paper of Professor W. W. Goodwin on *The Chronology of some of the Events mentioned in Dem. on the Crown*, in the "Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1871, 1872"; to Droysen in *Museum Rhenanum*, II., 1845 ; to Böhnecke's *συναγωγὴ ψηφισμάτων* in Vol. II. of his *Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1843 ; to Voemel's 5 treatises, published in 1841–1845 ; to Bœckh's *de Archontibus Pseudonymis* ; and to Westermann's *Untersuchungen über die in die Attischen Redner eingelegten Urkunden*. A fresh argument against the genuineness of these documents, based upon the enumeration of the *στίχοι* or lines in the MSS., is given by the Editor in the "Proceedings of the Amer. Philol. Assoc. for 1874–1875." The inconsistencies of the following document are these : **Μνησιφίλον** : this decree was passed in 347 b. c., the year before the peace, and *Themistocles* was archon for that year. — **ἐκατομβαῖωνως** : from Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 92, we learn that it was passed on the 3d of Munychion.

— **Πανδιονίδος**: acc. to Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 82, Dem. was the *πρεσβεῖος* or president for the day. But acc. to Schöm. (*Greek Antiq.*, p. 399) the *procdri* were chosen by the *ἐπιστάτης* of the *Prytanes* (for explanation of these terms cf. Dict. *Antiq.*) from the nine tribes which were not in the *prytany*; hence, if Dem. was *proœdrus*, the tribe of Pandionis to which he belonged could not have been in the prytany at this time. — **δεδόχθαι**, be it moved or resolved. — **τῷ δῆμῳ**: from Dem. *de F. L.*, § 154, we learn that the *δῆμος* had given the *βουλή* absolute power to pass decrees for the time being without this sanction; consequently the *δῆμος* had nothing to do w. this decree. — **πρώτῃ**: Dem. *de F. L.*, § 15, says: *εἰς τὴν ὑστεραῖαν ἐν ἡ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔδει κυροῦσθαι*; and Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 61, mentions the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion as the days of the Assembly; and Dem., i. e. § 57, says, the peace was adopted on the 19th (the second day of the Assembly). — **πέντε**: the number was *ten*. Cf. Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 97. — **ὑπερβολὴν**, delay; not so used in classical Greek. — **δούναι**: the Athenians had already given their oath. Cf. §§ 25, 26. — **Εὐβούλος, κ. τ. ἐ.**: Eubulus and Æsch. are well known, but the other names are probably fictitious, being found nowhere else except in the spurious *γραφή*, § 55, where Κη. and Κλ. figure as witnesses. In Dem. *de F. L.*, § 229, the names of 4 of these envoys are given: *Φιλοκράτης, Αισχίνης, Φρύνων, Δημοσθένης*.

§ 30. **γράψαντος...ζητοῦντος**, although I had proposed...and was seeking. The student will observe the difference of time expressed by these partic. — **Χρηστοῖ**: ironical; cf. §§ 89, 318. — **τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας**: this is the *whole* time of the absence of the envoys. They took the tedious land route from *Oreus* to *Macedonia*, were 23 days on the way, and remained 27 days at Pella awaiting the return of Philip fr. Thrace. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 155. — **ἔξδν**: accus. absol.; cf. H. 973; G. 1569; Cu. § 586. — **τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων**: W. states that in this time one could go by water from Pella to any point of the Hellespont, and that in a direct line the distance was no greater than fr. Athens to Ephesus, to accomplish which three days were allowed. — **παρόντων ἡμῶν = εἰ ἡγεῖς παρῆμεν**; cf. G M T. 841; H. 971 b; G. 1563. 5; Cu. § 584. If we had been present, i. e. we, the Athenians, represented by the envoys. — **Δν...εἰχε**: the impf. to indicate that Philip was still holding the places. Critics call attention to the skill of the orator in stating the same fact from several points of view. This decree, e. g., is considered w. reference to (1) its cause; (2) the end in view; (3) the result that followed its neglect; (4) the result that would have followed from its observance.

§ 31. **τὸ μὲν...πρώτον**: observe that the antithesis is found in *ἔτερον δ'* below, and that within the compass of this sentence there is a subordinate antithesis between *κλέμμα μὲν* and *δωροδόκημα δὲ*. — **δωροδόκημα**, piece of

venality. L. and S. give only the concrete meaning *bribe*. Cf. *κακούργημα* = *piece of villainy*. — *τῶν ἀδικῶν τούτων ἀνθρώπων*: the spondaic rhythm of this sentence adds to its weight. — *καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὅμολογῶ*, *K. T. έ.*, *I avow that I not only then was, but now am, and ever shall be, at war and at variance*. — *εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς*, directly next in order; modifying the idea of *κακούργημα*, i. e. that wh. occurred immediately after the *δωροδόκημα* mentioned above.

§ 32. *ἀπίωμεν*: this is the reading of Σ and other MSS. of the better class. By the use of the first person in distinction fr. *αὐτῶν*, wh. refers to Aesch. and his party, the orator intimates that while he was a member of the embassy he was not implicated in the guilt of this delay. For the use of the subj. after *ώνειται* histor. pres. cf. G M T. 318; H. 881 a; G. 1369; Cu. § 531 a, b. V. and W. read *ἀπιμεν*, wh. is found in Bekk. Anecd. p. 129; this is then taken as a future, cf. G M T. 339; H. 885; G. 1372; Cu. §§ 500, 553. — *ποιήσατο*: the optat. is regular after histor. pres. (*ώνειται*). — *ἀπαγγελάντων ήμῶν* = *εἰ ημεῖς ἀπηγγειλαμεν*; the indic. to denote that the condition is assumed as real. — *μέλλει...παρασκευάζεται*: the pres. indic. states the fact in the *direct narration*. Give the Greek forms in the *indirect narration*. — *Πύλας*: cf. L. and S. II. 2. — *πρότερον*: after Philip had overrun Thessaly, he attempted, in the summer of 352 B. C., to effect a union with the Thebans against the Phocians; but he was unexpectedly frustrated by the Athenians, who sent an expedition under Nausicles to guard the pass of Thermopylæ. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXVII. — *τὸν τόπον*, *the region*, i. e. *the pass*. The comm. reading is *πορθμόν*, wh. is not only contrary to Σ, but also erroneous in sense, since Philip's army was almost wholly a *land* force, and it was the *land* passage that was to be barred to his entrance.

§ 33. *οὕτω*: join w. *φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ*, *was in so great fear and anxiety that*. In like manner *πολύς*, though expressed but once, is understood with two subst. in § 209: *ναῦς καὶ πολλούς ἵππους*; in Lysias 30. 26: *χρήματα καὶ πολλὰς εἰσφοράς*. W. — *καὶ*: strongly concessive, *even though*. — *τοῦ...ἀπολέσθαι*: what kind of time is indicated by the aor. infin.? Cf. G M T. 96; H. 851; G. 1272; Cu. § 495 b, Obs. — *βοηθεῖν*, sc. *τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν*, wh. is retained by V. from the reading of Σ, but other Editt. omit as superfluous. — *μισθῶται*: what is the distinction between the indic. and the infin. after *ώστε*? Cf. G M T. 582; H. 927; G. 1450; Cu. § 565. — *τὸν...τούτον*: the demonstr. force of the t borders upon contempt, like the Lat. *iste*. *This despicable fellow here present*.

§ 34. *μεμνήσθαι*, sc. *ὑμᾶς*; a similar omission of the subj. of the infin. is found in §§ 17, 229. — *μὴ κατηγορήσαντος μηδὲν* = *εἰ μὴ κατηγόρησεν μηδὲν*; cf. note § 30. — *ἐτερον*, in the sense of *ἄλλοτριον* = *irrelevant*. Cf.

. ἔτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, § 44. — πάσαις: in the sense of *παντοῖαις*. — αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις, charges and calumnies = columnious charges. Cf. *αἰτίαις* καὶ διαβολᾶς, § 7. — ἄμα, at the same time; with the accusations contained in the indictment. Where previously has Dem. cast upon his opponent the blame of departing from the actual points at issue?

§ 35. παρὰ, from, st. ὑπό, to indicate an idea of source. — δι' οὓς = *propter quin verba*, denoting cause; δι' ὥν = *quibus verbis*, denoting instrument. — ὡς οὐδεῖ: the direct form of narration to give vividness. — ἔσται...έὰν ἔχῃ: cf. G M T. 444; H. 898; G. 1403; Cu. § 545. — οἱς μὲν: the Phocians; οἱς δὲ: the Thebans. — οὐ belongs to the entire sentence; cf. § 17. — μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, “phrasing it pompously enough.” — τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν, identity of interests. — τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος, stupore et molestia. V. The stolid insensibility of the Boeotian character gave rise to the proverbial *βοιωτία ἵς*; cf. οἱ ἀναισθητοὶ Θηβαῖοι, § 43. Wh. renders *βαρύτητος* by *overbearing insolence*; Jacobs, by *Schwerfälligkeit*. *Oppressiveness* is the rendering of Holmes.

§ 36. ὑποῦσται = *lurking*. The ill-feeling was chronic and ready to burst out into an open rupture. Cf. § 18: ἀν ἐφησθῆναι, κ. τ. ἐ. — οὐκ εἰς μακράν, lit. *not unto long (after)*; i. e. not at a point of time long subsequent to what has gone before. The prep. *eis* marks the terminus w. reference to wh. the action is considered. In § 151 is a similar use. The course of events was as follows: On the 13th of Scirophorion the envoys returned from Philip; on the 16th they made their report to the Assembly; on the 27th came the news that Phocis had fallen into the hands of Philip. The Phocian towns, 22 in number, were razed; the people were deprived of their arms, excluded fr. the Amphictyonic council, and condemned to pay an annual tribute of 50 talents into the treasury of the Delphic temple, until they had restored what had been taken from the god. — ὑμᾶς δ' ...*σκευαγωγεῖν*: upon receiving the intelligence of the destruction of the Phocian towns, the Athenians, fearing a sudden attack from Philip, resolved to summon the rural population to bring their loose effects (*σκευή*) and their wives and children within the shelter of the walls, and to put the Peiraeus and the outposts of the city in a state of defence. — ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαῖος, the hostility on the part of the Thebans fell to the lot of the city. ἀπέχθειαν w. *πρὸς* occurs above in the subjective sense (*our hostility towards them*), here in the objective sense (*their hostility towards us*) as regards the Athenians. *πρὸς* w. the genit. would be usual to express the idea of *on the part of*; but the accus. implies motion or activity, and indicates that Athens had to place herself in an attitude of *defence against Thebes*. For a similar use of *πρὸς* w. accus. cf. Dem. *de I. L.*, § 85: ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαῖος μεῖζω Φιλίππω δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκεν. We are not to understand

that the ill-will of the Thebans against Athens now first arose, for Athens had favored the Phocians all along, but that it was increased at this time; how, the orator tells us in his speech *de F. L.*, § 85: "While Philip had determined from the first to favor the Thebans, Æsch., by reporting the contrary and by showing that you were plainly not on the side of the Thebans, augmented their enmity against you and their gratitude to Philip."

§§ 37, 38. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ**: the genuineness of this decree is at once placed in doubt by the name of the archon and the date. Mnesiphilus is nowhere mentioned among the archons. **μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτη ἀπόλοντος**, the 21st of *Μενιάτεριον*, is nearly 5 months after the time (the 27th of Scirophorion, cf. note § 36) that the intelligence of the destruction of Phocis caused so much alarm at Athens. It seems incredible that the Athenians should have waited so long to take the precautionary measures of this decree. Furthermore the contents do not agree with the statement of Dem. *de F. L.*, §§ 125, 126: *καὶ παιᾶς καὶ γυναικας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατακομίζειν ἐψηφίζεσθε καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπισκειάζειν καὶ τὸν Ηειραῖ τειχίζειν καὶ τὰ Ἡράκλεια ἐν ἀστει βύειν*. — **συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας**, in the Assembly convened. — **ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, καὶ βουλῆς γνώμη**: most Editt. place a comma after *στρατηγῶν* and none after *πρυτάνεων*; the punctuation here adopted is that of V., who believes that an extra Assembly could be convened by the generals only through the agency of the prytanes, and cites in support of his view Thuc. IV. 118. The *kai* before *βουλῆς* seems superfluous and is excluded by Dind. — **παρευρέσει**: we should expect *προφάσει*. The word is, if not an error, at least in this sense a barbarism. — **κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι**: "Greek of a later age, used twice by Polybius and once by Plutarch. The Greek of the period would substitute *κοιμᾶσθαι*. *ἀπόκοιτος* is classical, Æsch. p. 45, 1, 2; but *ἀποκοιτέν* (infin.) and *ἀφημερένειν* are both *ἀπαξ λεγύμενα*. The great number of unclassical words in these documents is alone sufficient to condemn them as spurious." — TYLER. — **δσοι μὴ...ἀποτελεγμένοι**, *as many as have not been detailed for the garrisons*. For the use of the indic. and the negat. *μή* cf. G M T. 534, 518; H. 913, 914; G. 1432, 1428. — **ἐπικρινέτω ὁ...στρατηγὸς**: acc. to Droysen the assignment of such a duty to any of the generals is contrary to all that is known of Athenian jurisprudence. — **ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως**, the general of the administration. Acc. to Boeckh (*Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 247) this officer had certain judicial and administrative duties connected with the army. In § 115 he is charged with the duty of paying the soldiers. — **ἄρ:** how different from *ἄρα*? Its strong ironical force here must not be overlooked. — The emphatic words **ταῦταις** and **μισθωτός** stand first and last in the sentence.

§ 39. **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ**: however well the haughty tone of this epistle seems to harmonize with the character of Philip, there can be no doubt of

its spuriousness as soon as we notice its contradictions to what we know of the circumstances connected w. the conquest of Phocis. Notice (1) the contradiction between the intent and meaning of the letter as quoted in § 40, and its actual tenor. (2) Directly contrary to the statement of the letter, Diod. Sic. 16. 59, says : *οι δὲ Φωκαῖς συντριβέντες τὰς ἐλπίσιν παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνεν μάχης ἀνελπίστως καταλύσας τὸν ἵερὸν πόλεμον.* Similar is the testimony of Dem. de F. L., § 61 : *μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἀλώναι πολιορκίᾳ μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος.* (3) In the genuine letter it seems probable that Philip gave some reasons to justify his proceedings against the Phocians. — **χαρεῖν**, greeting; the usual form of salutation. — **ἑαυτοὺς** = *ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς*; cf. H. 686 a; G. 995; Cu. § 471, Obs. c. — **τοῖς ὅλοις**, altogether. So *τοῖς ὅλοις σφαλῆναι* = *to be altogether ruined.* — **μέτριον ποιεῖν**, to act with moderation or fairness. Diss. regards the expression as a euphemism for *mule agitis*; Holmes makes it a meiosis for *you seem to do anything but what is fair.* — **όμοιως**, in like manner, as though the peace had not been concluded; almost equivalent to **ὅμως** = nevertheless. For a similar sense cf. § 110. — **ἴξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες**, beyond that of being the aggressors in doing wrong.

§ 40. **ἀκούετε**: indic., as would be expected after the reading of a document; cf. §§ 121, 158. The imperat. would naturally be used when a document is to follow. — **πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους**: the allies referred to are the Thebans and Thessalians; the phrase is to be joined directly to **δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται**, as is indicated by the punctuation in our text. Benseler, *Hiatus*, p. 94, says that fr. the repetition of the prep. **πρὸς** it may be inferred that the clause *ἐν...ἐπιστολῇ* is to be taken as a parenthesis. Diss. and others understand **συμμάχους** as explanatory of *ἱμᾶς*; but why then **πρὸς**, and what is the sense? It seems probable that Philip had acquainted his allies w. his correspondence w. the Athenians, and that from the genuine letter sent by Philip at this time they could more readily discern the sentiment expressed in *ὡστ' εἰ...ἔμοι δὲ πιστεύετε*, than we can fr. this counterfeit document. — **ἐκ τούτων ὤχετο ἐκείνους λαβών**, *by these means he hurried them along with him.* *οἴχομαι τι λαβών* = *I am off with something*, a frequent combination denoting an irresistible and sudden carrying away. *Animos illorum rapuit.* Bremi. — **εἰς τὸ...προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ,** so far that they did not even foresee nor become aware of any of the consequences. **εἰς** expresses the point to wh. he had carried them, and w. **τὸ** and the infin. is nearly equivalent to **ὡστε** of result. — **ἔασται**: notice the striking contrast between the use of the aor. and of the pres. in *αἰσθάνεσθαι* and *προορᾶν*. — **ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ**: the dat. denotes the state of subjection; in § 39 the acc. **ὑφ'** **ἑαυτοὺς** denotes the process of subjugation. — **οἱ ταλαπωροι**, sc.

Θηβαῖοι. So read Z., Bekk., Dind., following Σ; all other MSS. and Editt. have Θηβαῖοι either before or after κέχρηνται. The reference is primarily to the condition of the Thebans after the destruction of their city in 335 B. C. As to the omission of the name, it is argued, on the one hand, that to express it would exclude any allusion to the Thessalians, who, though not so badly off as the Thebans, were after all not wholly out of the mind of Dem. as having suffered injury fr. their connection w. Philip; cf. *Phil.*, II. § 22; III. § 26. On the other hand, it is argued that the omission of Θηβαῖοι fr. Σ must be accidental, since the orator proceeds in the next paragraph to describe just their condition.

§ 41. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως, κ. τ. ἐ., and his co-operator and helpmate (αὐτῷ depends on σύ in composition) in winning this confidence, sc. in Philip on the part of the Thebans and Thessalians. — **φενάκιστας**: a word taken from the ordinary speech of the people and frequently used by Aristophanes, derived fr. φέναξ = quack, impostor. — **διεξιών**, rehearsing; cf. note on ἔτραγῳδει, § 13. — **ἀπάντων**: differs fr. πάντων in summing up and combining the preceding particulars in one entirety; it may be rendered by of all together. — **καὶ...καὶ...καὶ...αὕτος**; the energy and compactness of such sentences as this justify the praise of Quint., X., Ch. I., § 76: “so tense, as it were, with nerves, so free from anything superfluous.” — **δῆλον** often introduces an ironical sentence, for you forsooth grieve, etc. — **ἔξητούμην**: after the destruction of Thebes, Alex. demanded the surrender of the principal anti-Macedonian orators, among whom Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides were the chief ones. Acc. to Diod. 17. 15, there were ten of them; but Arrian, *Anab.* I. 10, mentions only nine. For further information cf. A. Schaef., III. p. 127.

§ 42. **ἄλλὰ γὰρ** = Lat. *at enim*. The ellipsis is something like this: but (enough of this now) for; cf. § 211. — **ἐμπέπτωκα**: as if unintentionally. — **αὐτίκα**, presently, i. e. in the immediate future. — **ἐπάνειμι δὴ...ώς**, κ. τ. ἐ., *I will return accordingly...that*, etc. δὴ calls attention to something just stated. The statement introduced by ώς is a renewal of the proposition made in § 20, and the narration is resumed fr. § 36. — **γὰρ**: epexegetical, to introduce the promised proofs; cf. the beginning of § 169.

§ 43. **οἱ κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοί**: the Thessalians were especially despised and hated by the rest of the Greeks. Diss. quotes the following epithets as applied to them: στάσεως μεστοί, ἀπιστοί, διπλοί καὶ ποικίλοι. — **ἀνασθητοί**: cf. note § 35. — **πάντ', all in all**; cf. Thuc. VIII. 95: Εὔβοια γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν. — **οὐδὲ...ἡκουον, εἰ...βούλοιτο**: a mixed condit. sent., w. the apodosis in the indic. st. optat. w. ἦν to denote the actual fact, and in the imperf. to indicate that this fact was habitual or customary. — **ὑφορώμενοι** = *suspicentes*. — **οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι δν ἐπολεῖτε**, for there was nothing

that you could have done. οὐκ ἔστι ὅστις is more frequently found than οὐδεὶς ἔστω ὅστις in general negations. Cf. Eurip. *Medea*, 1306; id. *Phoen.*, 597; Aesch. *Choeph.*, 170. For the indic. w. ἀν cf. G M T. 243, 244; H. 903; G. 1335, 1336, 1340; Cu. § 544, Obs. 3.—**καὶ...δὲ**: in this combination of conjunctions καὶ generally expresses the comparative idea, *also, as well as*.—**ἴηγον τὴν εἰρήνην**: Dind., V., and other Editt. read ἀσμενοι καὶ after this expression. V. claims that this addition is forcible, as making the folly of the Greeks all the more patent.—**αὐτοὶ τρόπον...πολεμούμενοι**, *although they themselves were in a certain manner the object of his warlike operations for a long time.* A similar concessive force of the partie. is found in **παρῶν**, §§ 83, 117; **ἔχων, εἶδως**, § 142; **κρατοῦντι**, § 146.—**ἐκ πολλοῦ**: ἐκ indicates the point from which the danger began.

§ 44. γὰρ: epexegetical, to explain **τρόπον τινὰ πολεμούμενοι**.—**περιών, marching and countermarching**.—**Ιλλυρίους καὶ Τριβάλλους**: the Illyrians were subdued by Philip, acc. to Diod. XVI. 69, in 345 b. c. The invasion of the Triballi is brought by Justin, IX. 3, in connection with the Scythian expedition in 339 b. c. The whole period, accordingly, between the conclusion of the peace and the renewal of hostilities is referred to.—**τινὰς...τῶν Ἑλλήνων**: during this period Philip supported Messenia and Argos against Sparta, seized the colonies of Elis in Epirus, placed Macedonian garrisons under Cleitarchus and Philistides in Oenus and Eretria, occupied the Thracian Chersonesus, and threatened the Athenian possessions on the Hellespont.—**τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων = τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν**. This form of *Brachylogy* is frequent. K. § 300. 4, calls it *attraction of the preposition*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, I. 1. 5: δότις δ' ἀφικυοῦτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως = τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ δητῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφικυοῦτο. So in this oration, § 145: τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων = τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γιγνομένων ἐξ αὐτῆς. Cf. §§ 169, 213 for similar instances.—**ἐκεῖστε, proceeding thither**, i. e. to Pella, where Philip had his court. The allusion is to the scheming and treacherous politicians in the allied cities of Athens, who, under the sanction of the peace, went so often to Philip on the errands of traitors.—**οὐτος, sc. Αἰσχ.** But had his bribery commenced only then?—**ἔτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, this is the concern of another.** **ἔτερος = ἄλλοτρος**, cf. note § 34.

§ 45. παρ' ὑμῖν: of the speeches made in protest by Dem. at this time we have but one preserved, the second Philippic. —**διποι**: some of these places are mentioned in § 244. In *Phil.*, II., § 19; III., § 72, reference is made to the two embassies to the Peloponnesus upon wh. Dem. went.—**ἐνόσουν, were diseased**. Dem. likes to compare the disorders of the body politic with those of the physical organism. Cf. § 296.—**τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ, on the one hand, those engaged in public life and service were become venal**

and corrupt for the sake of (*ἐπι* = with a view to) gain ; while, on the other hand, those in private life and the masses (supply *τῶν* before *πολλῶν*). *πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν, δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων* are instances of pleonasm wh. Diss. praises as “*bona latitudo dictio*,” but Schaefer condemns. — **τὰ μὲν...τὰ δὲ** : partly...partly. — **δελεαζομένων, κ. τ. ἐ.**, caught with the bait of the ease and comfort of the present moment. — **τοιούτοις τι πάθος**, being affected in some such way as this. What this affection was, *οἰομένων, κ. τ. ἐ.*, states. — **πλὴν οὐκ** : Dobraeus rejects *πλὴν* from the text. But the use of both these adverbs adds great force to the thought : they supposed the terrible thing would come, only not upon themselves, i. e. it would come everywhere else except there. *πλὴν οὐκ* is quite frequent after *πάντες*. Cf. Xen. *Lac.*, XV. 6; Dem. 56, p. 1290 : *πλέονσα πανταχόσε, πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθῆνας*. — **ἔτέρων** depends on *κινδύνων*. — **ὅταν βούλωνται** : each state cherished the delusive hope that it could preserve itself by directing the attack of Philip upon the others. This paragraph gives a striking picture of the demoralized and hopeless condition of Greek national life.

§ 46. οἷμαι : how do *οἶμαι* and *οἴομαι* commonly differ in Attic usage ? — **ἀντὶ** = in return for. — **τοῖς προεστηκόσι**, the leaders. — **καὶ** connects the two partic. ; supply *τοῖς* before *οἰομένοις*; cf. *τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν* above. — **πεπρακόσιν** : for the partic. constr. cf. H. 982; G. 1588; Cu. §§ 589. 1, 591. The dat. is by attraction to agree w. the obj. of *συμβέβηκε* (*τοῖς προεστηκόσι*) st. w. the omitted subj. of *αισθάνεσθαι*. — **ξένων** : a *ξένος* is a friend plighted by the ties of hospitality ; Germ. *Gastfreund*. — **ἀκούοντιν**, like the Lat. *audiunt* = they hear themselves called, bear the name of. After this word many texts insert *εἰκότως*, wh. is not found in Σ, Laur. S. “Sæpe etiam additum a scribis ad γάρ ellipticum explicandum, ante quod supplenda *εἰκότως*, οὐ θαυμαστὸν, talia.” V.

§ 47. ἀν = τούτων ἀ. — **ἄν πρίγηται** : cf. G M T. 532, 563; H. 919 a; G. 1431, 1439; Cu. § 554. — **γάρ** : elliptical ; supply *ἄλλως* or *εἰ δὲ μή*, wh. forms the condition to the apodosis *ἄν ἦν*. Dem. here makes use of a rhetorical syllogism : If the traitor secures the permanent favor of those whom he serves, he is of all men the most fortunate. But he is cast off as soon as he has served his purpose ; ergo, he is not the most fortunate, but the opposite. To illustrate this statement, examples are given in the next paragraph. — **πόθεν** : whence can it be ? impossible ! Cf. §§ 52, 140. Of similar emphasis are *πῶς γάρ*, § 312; *πῶς γάρ οὖ*, § 299. — **ἔγκρατής...καταστῆ**, has established himself in full possession of his object. “*καταστῆ* suggests the security of his position, *ἔγκρατής* the completeness of his conquest.” HOLMES. — **καὶ...έστι**, he is also. The indic. (*έστι*) shows that this sentence forms the apodosis to *ἔπειδαν καταστῆ*. The sentiment is forcibly brought out in the words of Habington quoted by Wh. :

"Mischief while it prospers brings favor from the smile of kings;
Useless, soon is thrown away."

— **τότε δή,** from that very moment.

§ 48. **καὶ γὰρ**: an instance of the well-known elliptical use of **γάρ** w. **καὶ**: and (*it is well that you should do this*) for; generally the **καὶ** in this use may best be left untranslated, but its force as making the causal sentence more emphatic should always be *felt*, if not expressed. — **μέχρι τούτου...ἔως**, until that moment...until; a repetition like **πρότερον...πρίν** for the sake of emphasis. Thue., I. 90, § 3, has **μέχρι τοσούτου ἔως**. — **Δασθένης**: by delivering 500 cavalry men into Philip's hands during the siege of Olynthus, betrayed his own city. Cf. Diod., XVI. 53. — **Τιμόλαος**: in § 295 the same name occurs in the Doric form. Acc. to Theopompos, as quoted by Athenaeus, Timolaus was one of the most debauched men and corrupt politicians of his time. Deinarchus, I., § 74, makes him for scandal's sake the friend of Dem. — **Εὐδικός, Σίμος**: acc. to Harpoeratōn were two of the tetrarchs among whom Philip, in 342 b. c., apportioned the jurisdiction of Thessaly. — **πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη**, the whole habitable world, i. e. the Grecian world. In his *Orat. de Halonn.*, § 35, Dem. contrasts **ἡ οἰκουμένη** with **ἄλλη τις χώρα**, manifestly meaning his own country in a general sense. — **μεστή γέγονεν**: the ordinary reading adds **προδοτῶν**: became full of traitors driven about and suffering insult. But V., Bekk., W., Z., Sauppe, following Σ, omit this word and make the partic. agree w. **τούτων** understood and referring to the individuals just named. V. thinks that Dem. is here speaking only of the contempt in wh. these traitors were held, elsewhere (sc. § 295) of their great number; and he understands **μεστή** of the notoriety of their fate, wh. filled all Greece. More natural seems to us the interpretation of W., that all Greece was *full of*, i. e. sated with, wearied of these men driven from city to city and everywhere despised and maltreated. — **τι**: supply **πέπονθεν** fr. **πασχόντων** above. — **Ἀριστράτος**: tyrant of Sicyon, mentioned in § 295 and in Plut. *Vit. Arat.*, 13. — **Περίλαος**: attempted in 343 b. c. to deliver Megara into the hands of Philip by the aid of Macedonian mercenaries. His attempt failed through aid sent by the Athenians under Phocion.

§ 49. **οὗτος...τὸ ἔχειν...περιπολεῖ**, he it is "who secures to you the opportunity of getting bribes." KENN. The patriotic citizen in guarding his country's independence affords thereby the traitor the opportunity itself of making his nefarious gain. — **καὶ διὰ, κ. τ. ἐ**: the force of the **διὰ** after **ἴδοι** continues here. — **τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτῶν**: refers to the majority of the populace that had supported the measures of the patriotic party. — **τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους**: refers to the orators and leaders of that party. — **ἀν ἀπολώλετε**: forms the apodosis to a protasis implied in **διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς**, as

if it were *εἰ ὑμεῖς κατεπράξασθε τὰς ἁυτῶν γνώμας*. The plupf. because of the peculiar meaning of *ἀπόλωλα*.

§§ 50–52. CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART OF THE ORATION. ALEXANDER'S FRIEND IS ALEXANDER'S HIRELING. *εἰρήσθαι*: the infin. depends on the adj. *ικανῶν*. Cf. G M T. 763; H. 952; G. 1528; Cu. § 562. — *ἐωλοκρασίαν*, dregs, stale mess, foulness, are the best translations. Bekker's *Anecdota* defines this word as *the lees of wine* and *dregs of a night's debauch*, that were poured out by the revellers upon such as had fallen asleep amid the excesses of the feast. Hermogenes the rhetorician cites this as one of the boldest metaphors of the orator. *ῷσπερ* apologizes for its use. The application is obviously to the stale and hashed-up charges of treachery wh. Æsch. was seeking to turn away from himself upon Dem. — *ἳν...πρὸς...ἀπολύσασθαι*, of which it was essential that I clear myself before those younger than the events. *πρὸς* w. accus. denotes the aim of the action in *ἀπολύσασθαι*; he must vindicate himself to those younger, etc. As the events referred to occurred between 348 and 346 b. c., from 18 to 16 years ago, and a dicast need not be more than 30 years old, it is probable that some of the members of the court were at the time of these events mere boys of 14 or 16 years. — *παργνώχλησθε*: what peculiarity in the inflection? — *μισθαρνίαν*: this word is placed purposely at the end in order to give better occasion for the following refutation.

§ 51. *ξενίαν*, hospitality, or more properly guest-friendship. Cf. note on *ξένων*, § 46. — *που λέγων* = somewhere in his speech. — *ξένον...φίλον*: correspond to *φίλιαν...ξενίαν*, but with the order reversed for the sake of variety.

§ 52. *μισθωτόν*: emphatic position. — *πότερον...ἢ*: cf. H. 1017; G. 1606; Cu. § 611. — *μισθωτὸς...ξένος*: the emphatic order in English is the reverse, that alternative coming last wh. the speaker expects in response. As regards this appeal itself, the following explanations are presented in the order of our preference: (1) Dem. felt sure of a favorable response from his avowed adherents, and was already conscious of the favor of a large part of the jury. He therefore felt safe in risking a direct appeal. Cicero in *Orat.*, 31, 111, *Brut.*, 84, 290, tells us how the orators would move their auditors to loud assent and dissent. A clear instance of such direct appeal and responsive assent is found in Dem. *c. Aristocr.*, § 19: Dem. asks: *περὶ τοῦ παρανόμου βούλεσθε πρῶτον* The jury is supposed to reply *yes*; and Dem. rejoins, *τοῦτο τούνν έροῦμεν*. (2) The whole passage is a later addition made by Dem. upon a revision of his speech, in order to give it more the appearance of an extemporaneous effort. This is the opinion of Diss., who adds § 138 as another instance of a later insertion on the ground of its being too harsh a criticism upon the jury to be spoken at the time. (3) The orator expected no

response ; mere silence would give assent. But to this opinion ἀκούεις seems opposed, as also the well-known custom for the jury to express loud assent or dissent. (4) Acc. to Ulpian, Dem. purposely mispronounced and said μίσθωτος, and the critical Athenians at once correcting him replied w. overwhelming voice μισθωτός, as if in answer to his appeal. That such a trick would be wholly unworthy of the orator need hardly be said.

SECOND DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 53 - 125. FORMAL ANSWER TO THE INDICTMENT. (a) §§ 53 - 59. INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE CHARGES. (b) §§ 60 - 109. REFUTATION OF FIRST COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF DEM. JUSTIFIED. (c) §§ 110 - 119. REFUTATION OF SECOND COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : DEM. NOT ACCOUNTABLE FOR THAT WHICH WAS THE GROUND OF THE PROPOSAL TO CROWN HIM. (d) §§ 120 - 122. REFUTATION OF THIRD COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : THE PROCLAMATION IN THE THEATRE NOT ILLEGAL. (e) §§ 123 - 125. TRANSITION FROM THE SECOND TO THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION, FROM THE DEFENCE TO THE ATTACK.

(a) §§ 53 - 59. ήδη = Lat. *tandem*. — καὶ : correlated w. καὶ before πολλῷ. — προβεβουλευμένων refers to the proposed crowning wh. was as yet only in the form of a *preliminary decree* (*προβούλευμα*) passed by the *Βουλή*, and wh. had first to be passed by the *ἐκκλησία* before it became a *ψήφισμα*. — δικαῖος : why not in the accus. ! Cf. H. 940 ; G. 927 ; Cu. § 570.

§§ 54, 55. ΓΡΑΦΗ : manifestly not genuine, as appears fr. the following : Χαῖρώνδου should be Φρινίχου. Chærondas was Archon at the time when Dem. first proposed the reparation of the walls, wh., acc. to Ἑsch., § 27, was the 29th of Thargelion (about the 1st of June), 337 b. c. Three days later Dem. was elected Commissioner of Walls. But the date of this document is the 6th of Elaphebolion (about the middle of March), more than two months earlier. This document then would make out that Ctesiphon was indicted for an alleged offence two months before it had been committed ! — Κοθωκίδης, of *Cothocidie* ; an Attic deme of the tribe Eneis. Its situation is unknown. — ἀπήνεγκε... παρανόμων, brought or lodged a charge (*γραφήν* understood, as often in forensic usage) of illegality. How improbable it is that the bill of indictment should itself mention its own process at law. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 607. — πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα, i. e. the Archon Eponymus. But the process of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* came properly before the Thesmothetae. Cf. Dem. *c. Leptin.*, § 98 ; *c. Aristog.*,

§ 8.—**Αναφλυστίου**: Anaphlystus was a deme of the tribe Antiochis, and was situated a little to the northwest of Sunium, on the western shore.—**ἄρια** indicates a citation; we expect, therefore, a literal quotation of the decree of Ctesiphon. But we notice the absence of *καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις*, wh. is cited in § 57; and, acc. to *Æsch.*, § 34, *ἀναγορεῦσαι* below should be followed by *πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας*. The pretended *ψήφισμα* in § 118 is of too doubtful authority to serve as a criterion for this *γραφή*. — **Παιανία**: Paiania was the name of the two Attic demes, upper and lower P., of the tribe Pandionis, situated on the east side of Mt. Hymettus. — **στεφάνω**: crowns of olive, myrtle, laurel, and ivy were originally bestowed upon the victors in the national games. In later times, just when it is difficult to determine, crowns of gold were bestowed. In the period of Dem. civic crowns of gold were presented to that trierarch who was the first to furnish an equipped vessel to the Athenian navy, and to public men who had deserved well of the state. But this custom soon degenerated into a mark of political favor. Cf. *Dict. Antiq. Corona*. — **Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις**: for an account of the Dionysiac festivals cf. *Dict. Antiq.* *The great Dionysia* occurred in March, and were the gala days of the year, when Athens was crowded w. strangers and deputies fr. foreign states. At this festival the *new tragedies* were first brought out. — **ὅτι στεφανοῖ** depends on *ἀναγορεῦσαι*. — **ἀρετῆς**: the generic term covers both the special points of merit: *καὶ εὐνόias...καὶ ἀνδραγαθias*. — **τῶν νόμων...καταβάλλεσθαι**, since the laws do not allow, in the first place, that false documents be inserted in the public archives. If it could be shown that the statements in regard to Dem. were untrue, Ctesiphon was guilty of violating the law just stated. This is the *first count* in the indictment. It is to be remarked that while no such specific law as this can be shown to have existed, it was plainly against the spirit of the law in general, or against the common law, to introduce untrue statements in the public archives. This is what *Æsch.*, § 50, means: *ἄπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύοντιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ γράμματα ἔγγραφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι*. — **εἰτα**, in the next place; introducing the *second count* in the indictment. — **τὸν ὑπεύθυνον**: all public officers, except the Dicasts, were obliged to render account of their office, and generally within 30 days after its termination, before the board of Auditors (*λογισταῖ*), and their associates the Investigators (*εὑθυνοῖ*). For a full account of the duties of these officials cf. *Beckh Publ. Econ.*, p. 262 ff.; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 100 ff. — **τειχοποιός**, *Commissioner of Walls*; this was one of the most important of the civil offices. — **τῶν θεωρικῶν**, *the Theoric Fund*, was a fund set apart to defray the expenses of the public games and festivals. Pericles first introduced the custom of giving as a largess to the populace the two-obol entrance-fee to the theatre,

which was paid from this fund. In the time of Dem. the *theoricon* had become a powerful means of corruption in the hands of politicians. Boeckh (*Publ. Econ.*, p. 311) estimates that the lowest annual expenditure for the *theoricon* at this period was from twenty-five to thirty talents, and that this amount may occasionally have been doubled or trebled. Justin, as quoted by Boeckh, remarks: "Then were the public revenues, w. wh. previously soldiers and rowers had been maintained, distributed among the citizens of Athens"; and B. adds: "Thus Philip was enabled to raise his head." — ἀναγορεύειν and ἀνειπεῖν below depend on κελευστῶν, wh. is to be supplied from οὐκ ἔωντων above. — τῆς καινῆς: Wolff supplies εἰσόδῳ; Reiske, ἐπιστέξει or ἀγωνίᾳ; V. παρόδῳ. — τίμημα, *penalty, damages*. There were two kinds of suits or actions in the Athenian courts: (1) ἀγώνες ἀτίμητοι, in wh. the penalty was fixed and attached by law; (2) ἀγώνες τιμητοί, in wh. the penalty was to be assessed by the jury. The γραφὴ παρανόμων belonged to the latter. — κλήτορες: κλητῆρες was the usual form. These were the *witnesses* to the serving of the summons (*πρόσκλησις*). There were commonly two, and their names were always appended to the bill. — Κηφισοφῶν...Κλέων: cf. note § 29.

§ 56. τοῦ ψηφίσματος: partit. genit. with ἀ. A similar constr. is found in §§ 59, 118. The *decree* is that of Ctesiphon. — πρῶτον, *most of all, chiefly*. — τὴν αὐτὴν τούτων τάξιν, *the same order as this one*; i. e. the order followed by Esch. in drawing up the bill of indictment, *not* the order of his speech, where, probably w. a view to making his strongest points (sc. the technical points of the time and place of crowning) most prominent, he departs fr. the order of the indictment. Dem. was entirely consistent in demurring against the demand (§§ 1, 2) of his rival to follow the order of his *speech*, and just in taking advantage of the order of the *indictment*, by wh. he could place his weakest (the technical) points in the middle of his speech, where they would attract least notice.

§ 57. τοῦ...γράψαι...ἐπαινεῖν, *as regards the statement that, etc., and the praise bestowed*; these verbal nouns in the genit. depend on κρίσιν. — εἴτε...εἴτε καὶ: Diss. notices that when a speaker prefers the former of two alternatives he is apt to insert καὶ after the second εἴτε. So in § 58: εἴτε ἀξιος...εἴτε καὶ μή; Plat. *Theat.*, p. 168: εἴτε ταύτον εἴτε καὶ ἀλλο ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἰσθησίς.

§ 58. τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα...στεφανοῦν states the *second* point of the indictment; καὶ ἀνειπεῖν...κελεῦσαι states the *third* point. The entire sentence τὸ...κελεῦσαι is summed up by τοῦτο and forms the subject of κουνωεῖν = *is connected with*. On the constr. of the subordinate parts of the sentence critics are divided between these three opinions: (1) στεφανοῦν, like ἀνειπεῖν, depends on κελεῦσαι w. the omitted subject of wh.

(αὐτὸν) προσγράψαντα agrees; (2) στεφανοῦ depends on γράψαι supplied fr. προσγράψαντα; and as for his proposing to crown without adding (πρός) the proviso "when he has given in his accounts," and having ordered proclamation of the crown to be made in the theatre; (3) στεφανοῦ is coördinate w. κελεύσαι and subj. of κοινωνεῖν. The first constr. is adopted by the largest number, and seems, on the whole, the most natural. — ἐν τούτοις: *inter hos cives*. οὗτοι is often used by the orators to refer to the demus or plebs in the Assembly and court. — ἔτι μέντοι, still however. μέντοι is correl. of μὲν with κοινωνεῖν. — ἀπλῶς, as opposed to τεχνικῶς; hence, artlessly, without duplicity. — ξυγώκα, I have determined.

§ 59. ἀπαρτᾶν, lit. to hang away from, hence to separate, to disconnect. And let no one suppose that I am disconnecting my speech from the indictment. Dem. wishes to guard against the charge of irrelevancy. Upon this Lord B. remarks: "The extreme importance to Dem. case of the skilful movement, so to speak, by wh. he availed himself of Aesch. error, and at once entered upon the subject of his whole administration, thus escaping the immediate charge to wh. he had no answer, and overwhelming his adversary by a triumphant defence on ground of his own choosing, required that he should again and again defend this movement, wh. he here does very carefully." — Ἐλληνικὰς πράξεις, Hellenic affairs and discussions, in distinction fr. Athenian; what w. us is called the Foreign Department. This distinction is made more clear in § 109. — τοῦ ψηφίσματος depends on the whole sentence τὸ λέγειν...με. — εἴτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων, κ. τ. ἐ, accordingly also, there being many departments of public life open to my selection; sc. such as those of finance, of war, of navy; καὶ anticipates the force of the καὶ before τὰς ἀποδεξεῖς.

(b) §§ 60–109. I. §§ 60–72. WHAT THE CONDITION OF GREECE DEMANDED OF ATHENS. οὖν resumes the statement at the close of § 58, wh. was interrupted by the apology offered in § 59. The student cannot be too careful in noticing the exact and delicate force of these particles and conjunctions. — ἀ...πρὸ...δημηγορεῖν προσλαβεῖ: here Dem. refers to the period prior to the peace of Philocrates, 346 b. c., during which period Philip had taken Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, and Olynthus. Dem. disavows responsibility for the conduct of affairs, until, as the acknowledged head of the Anti-Macedonian party, he dictated the foreign policy of the state (ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην), wh. was from about 343 b. c. — ἀ...καὶ διεκωλύθη, but in what he was especially thwarted. The intensive force of καὶ w. the verb must be noticed. It was not Philip's successes, some of wh. he gained even after the entrance of Dem. upon public life, but his failures that Dem. now wishes to speak of. Attention is called by several critics to the skilful choice of the word διεκωλύθη, wh., by implying that Dem. acted upon the

defensive, prepares the way for the subsequent argument that all his measures were *defensive* and that he cannot, therefore, be charged w. the guilt of originating a war that brought ruin upon his country. — **τοσοῦτον ὑπειπῶν**: *having premised thus much*, as foundation (*ὑπό*) of the argument. — **πλεονέκτημα**: derivat.? Notice the *Asyndeton*.

§ 61. **φορὰν**: cf. L. and Sc., II. B. 3. — **προδοτῶν...ἀνθρώπων**: notice the cumulative force of these epithets. — **θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν**: “*God-detested*. The phrase is used almost as if it were a single word, otherwise the abrupt introduction of the dat. would be rather inelegant.” HOLMES. — **γεγονυῖαν**: w. what verbs is the supplementary partic. joined instead of the infin.? Cf. G M T. 878, 904; H. 981-984; G. 1579, 1588; Cu. §§ 590, 593. — **καὶ πρότερον κακῶς...διέθηκε**, *the Greeks, even previously disaffected towards one another and factious, he made still worse disposed*. The two adverbs in -*ws* are placed as far apart as possible for the sake of emphasis. — **τοὺς μὲν**, *some*, as e. g. the Athenians, by the peace of 346 b. c.; **τοῖς δὲ**, *others by bribing*, as e. g. the Thebans who were loaded w. favors for their coöperation in the destruction of Phocis. — **τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρων**, *by corrupting them in every possible way*. The expression is climacteric and embraces both classes described by *τοὺς μὲν* and *τοῖς δὲ*. W. makes *διαφθείρων* refer to the Phocians in the sense of *destroying*; but in Dem. the prevailing sense of the word is *corrumper*. Cf. § 295. — **κωλύειν**: explanatory of *τοῦ συμφέροντος*.

§ 62. **ἐν τοιαύτῃ...τὴν πόλιν**: the rhetorical order of this sentence is such that, while the connection w. the preceding sentence is made most clear, the emphatic words are made most prominent. — **συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ**, *of the gathering and growing mischief*. Wh. The Z. Edit. reads *φυρομένου* based upon Σ, wh. has *φυ ομένου*; but the sense is decidedly better w. the reading of the other MSS., wh. is *φυομένου*. — **πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν**: rhetorical pleonasm, in wh. the distinction in meaning is hardly felt. Cf. § 246. — **ἐνταῦθα...τῆς πολιτεᾶς**, *at that point of the administration*.

§ 63. **πότερον...ἢ**: cf. H. 1017; G. 1606; Cu. § 611. — **Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων**: these are mentioned because of the general contempt in wh. they were held and because of their Anti-Hellenic policy. Cf. Herod., VII. 132, 185. — **συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππω**, *to have joined in acquiring for Philip*. — **καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων...ἀναιρεῖν**, “*et majorum decora et jura revertere, qui pro libertate Graeciae glorioissime pugnârunt et principatum meruere facinoribus egregiis.*” Diss. — **κωλύσει**, st. **κωλύσοι** or **κωλύναι**, the form of the direct narration for the sake of liveliness. Cf. Aesch. c. Ctes., § 90. — **ὡς ζοικεύ**, *prefecto*. Diss. remarks that this phrase has not rarely an ironical force; as in Engl. we may say: “I suppose,” of what is very certainly known.

§ 64. ἀλλὰ νῦν, κ. τ. Ε. : this sentence simply repeats in another form the idea of the preceding ; *συναιτίας* corresponding to *συγκατακτᾶσθαι*, and *περιεωρακίας* to *περιεδεῖν* above. — ἔβούλετ' ἄν, *he would wish* ; the indic. w. ἄν denotes that the condition for realizing the wish is unfulfilled. Cf. G M T. 243, 244, 246 ; H. 903 ; G. 1336, 1337, 1339 ; Cu. § 537. — τῆς *συναιτίας*, sc. *μερίδος*, *the party that was the joint-cause of*. — ἄν εἴποι : what protasis may be supplied in thought ? Cf. G M T. 235 ; H. 872 a ; G. 1328 ; Cu. § 544. — ἐπὶ τῷ...ἔλπεδι, *with a view to the hope* ; ἐπὶ w. the dat. denoting the *purpose or object for which*. — Ἀρκάδας...Μεσσηνίους...Ἀργείους : the Arcadians and Messenians, Pausanias says (VII. 15. 6 ; VIII. 6. 2 ; IV. 28. 2), kept themselves wholly aloof in the last decisive struggle of Athens against Philip. The Argives had sought Philip's friendship and protection against Sparta. Cf. Isoer. *Phil.*, § 74.

§ 65. ἀπηλλάχαστιν, *have come off*. — καὶ γὰρ = Lat. *et enim*. — ήν ἀν...ἐναντιωθέντων : so reads Σ. The reading δύως ήν ἀν...οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντων found in Reiske, Taylor, Diss., Bremi, Dind., and other Editt., is due to a false interpretation of this passage. Dem. wishes to justify himself and the Athenians in their opposition to Philip, and says substantially this : Had Philip, when he had gained the upper hand (*ἐκράτησε*, wh. points to the close of the Phocian war, in wh. Philip had at least the appearance of doing right in punishing the violators of the Delphic sanctuary), — had he then withdrawn and made no further attempts against the rights of other states, there might have been some reason for censuring those who opposed him (i. e. us) ; since however he, on the contrary, used this victory over the Phocians as a means of further conquest, and gradually deprived all the states of their freedom, my solicitude and opposition are most fully justified, and you have done right and best in following my counsel. Thus by the concession in the early part of the sentence, Dem. strengthens his subsequent statement. — οἰς = *τούτοις* ἀ : cf. H. 996 a ; G. 1031, 1032 ; Cu. § 597. 4. — πολιτεῖας, *constitutions* ; of a democratic form of government, in distinction from a *τυραννίς*. — θσων : in the same constr. as ἀπάντων above.

§ 66. ἔκειστε, *illuc*, to be referred to *νῦν* at the beginning of § 64. — τὸν Ἀθήνησιν : several Editt. read ἔμε after these words, though not found in Σ. Reuter calls attention to the fact that καὶ γὰρ...διαφέρει can only refer to Ἀθήνησιν. That Dem. alludes here to himself is plain enough from the connection and from the use of the 1st pers. in *συνήδειν*, *ἀνέβην*, *ἔώρων*. — ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου : the use of ἐκ w. genit. expresses the existence of this consciousness all the time through *from the first moment* of his observation. So ἀφ' ής, st. ἐφ' ή, indicates the whole period extending fr. the time at wh. he began to address the Assembly. This is a favorite mode of expressing

time w. Dem. Cf. ἐκ πολλοῦ, § 43. — **πρωτεῖν**, *precedence, primacy*; referring to the hegemony. For the singular cf. § 321. — **φιλοτιμίας**, *distinction, pre-eminence*. — **ἐκπαστός**: Dem. frequently compliments the Athenians for their readiness to sacrifice in behalf of the freedom and welfare of the other Greek states.

§ 67. **τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομένον**: as similar instances of accus. of *synecdoche*, Holmes cites Aristoph. *Nub.*, 24: εἴθ' ἐξεκόπην πρότερον τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν λίθῳ; Aesch. c. *Tim.*, § 172: ἐκκοπεῖς ὁ δειλαῖος ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς. This wound Philip probably incurred at the siege of Methone, 353 B. C. Cf. Diod., XVI. 34. — **τὴν κλεῖν**: this happened, acc. to the Schol., on the expedition against the Illyrians, 345 B. C. — **τὴν χείρα, τὸ σκέλος**: these injuries were sustained on his return from a Scythian campaign, the last one in an encounter w. the Triballi, 339 B. C. Justin, IV. 3, says: *in femore vulneratus est Philippus*. This enumeration of Philip's injuries seems to be given in chronological order; but Diss. observes: “suaviter a capite ad inferiora descendit.” — **βουληθεῖν**: why the optat. ? Cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; G. 1431; Cu. § 555. — **μέρος**, *every part of his body, whatever fortune, etc.* The antecedent is incorporated in the relat. clause, by wh., as Diss. observes, the emphasis of **πᾶν** is increased. Cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3. — **τῷ λοιπῷ, reliquo corpore**.

§ 68. **οὐδὲ** points to what precedes; as that cannot be denied, so would no one even venture, etc. — **Πελλῆ**: the allusion to Philip's birthplace as contrasted w. Athens is manifestly contemptuous. — **τοῦτ'**, sc. ἡ τῶν Ελ. ἀρχή. — **ἐν πάσι ... θεωρήμασι**: *in speeches and spectacles*, Lord B.; *in speeches and in dramas*, Kenn.; better, w. Leland, *in everything you hear and see*. — **ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι**, *contemplate a memorial*: **ὑπόμνημα** used in a concrete sense as referring to the greatness and splendor of their city. All other Editt. read here **ὑπουρήμαθ' ὄρωσι**. Our reading is that of Σ and two other MSS., though on the margin of Σ the other reading is also found; **θεωρεῖν** is used in the same sense in Dem. *pro Rhod. Lib.*, § 35. — **ἐθελοντὰς** seems tautological. Some critics regard it as a gloss to explain the word before it. The idea is intensified by its use. Cf. § 305: **μετὰ πάσης ἀδελα** ἀσφαλῶς; Dem. *Olynth.*, III., § 6: **πάντι σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν**; *Phil.*, II., § 16: **βιασθεὶς ἀκων**.

§ 69. **λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν**, *it remained therefore*; as the only course left to be pursued. Notice the strong inferential force of **τοίνυν**, wh. at the same time adds to the considerations already advanced a new motive in the antithesis of **δικαῖως** and **ἀδικῶν**. — **ἔγραφον...καὶ ἔγώ**, *and I also acted as the mover of your resolutions and as your counsellor*; **καὶ** before **ἔγώ** indicates that Dem. claims that he was only in line with the traditional policy of the city. Cf. **καὶ** before **διεκωλύθη**, § 60. — **καθ'...χρόνους**: give the Greek without incorporation of the antecedent. — **πάντα**, *dismissing*

all the rest. These earlier conquests Philip made in 358–345 B. C. Cf. note § 60.

§ 70. **Σέρριον**: cf. § 27. — **Δορίσκον**: cf. Aesch. *c. Ctes.*, § 82. These Thracian towns were taken in 345 B. C. — **Πεπαρήθουν**: this island was laid waste by Philip, about 342 B. C., for ejecting the Macedonian garrison from the neighboring island of Halonnesus, for the possession of which Philip and the Athenians were contending. Cf. Aesch. *c. Ctes.*, § 83. — **οὐδ'... οἶδα**: “Sic me geram quasi omnino nesciam facta.” Diss. — **σύ γ'**, you, made emphatic by γε wh. generally throws its emphasis upon the preceding word; and yet you affirmed (though cognizant of all these facts) that I in speaking of these matters had brought these persons (sc. his auditors) into hostility (with Philip namely). — **Εύβούλον**: cf. note § 21. — **Ἀριστοφῶντος**: of the deme Azenia, one of the leading statesman of Athens fr. the close of the Pelopon. War down to about 352 B. C. The chief aim of his policy seems to have been to unite Athens and Thebes against Sparta; cf. § 162. Dem. in his *Leptin. Orat.*, § 146, calls him δευτὸς λέγειν. Aesch. *c. Ctes.*, § 194, refers to Arist. as boasting that he had been acquitted on seventy-five charges of γραφὴ παρανόμων. — **Διοπείθουν**: most scholars follow the Scholiast in supposing this Diopeithes to be the Athenian general who in 343 B. C. saved the Chersonesus fr. falling into the hands of Philip. But A. Schaefer (I. 163, II. 422) believes this Diopeithes to be the orator and statesman who is mentioned by Hyperides, of the deme Sphettus. — **οὐδὲ**: as before I offered no resolutions w. reference to these matters, *I will now also not speak of them*.

§ 71. **Εὐβοιαν**: Philip sought to gain a foothold in Eubœa as early as 350 B. C., when he supported the tyrant Callias of Chalcis against the Athenians under Phocion, who had been summoned to give assistance by Plutarch, tyrant of Eretria. The peace of 346 for a while checked his operations; but in 343 he boldly invaded the island, destroyed Porthimus, a fortification of the Eretrians, and placed his tools in power in Oreus and Eretria, as mentioned in the text. Vid. farther § 79. — **σφετεριζόμενος**, appropriating to himself. — **ἐπιτείχισμα**, as a post of attack, base of operations against; cf. *ἐπιτείχισμάδν*, § 87. For this the position of Eubœa was admirably fitted. — **Μεγάροις**: in 343 B. C. a Macedonian faction, at the head of wh. stood Perilaus, endeavored to put Megara into the hands of Philip, so as to prepare the way for his conquest of the Peloponnesus; but this plan was frustrated through the prompt and energetic interference of the Athenians under Phocion. Cf. Dem. *Phil.*, III., §§ 18, 27; *de F. L.*, §§ 87, 204, 295, 326. — **Ἐλλήσποντον**: Philip occupied the Hellespont in 342 B. C., and sent out forces to conquer and destroy the towns of the Chersonesus. — **Βυζάντιον**: cf. note § 87. — **πόλεις... ἀς μὲν... ἀς δὲ**: cf. H. 624 d;

G. 914; Cu. § 361. 12. The use of *ἀς μὲν...ἀς δὲ στ. τὰς μὲν...τὰς δὲ*, Bremer remarks, is contrary to the best Attic usage of this period and an instance of a vulgarism employed by the best writers. Professor Lipsius cites as the only example of this use prior to Dem., *οὐς μὲν...οὐς δὲ* in Xen. *Cyrop.*, II. 4, § 23. where some Editt. read *τοὺς μὲν...τοὺς δὲ*. Cf. V. ad loc., who gives also *ὦν μὲν...ὦν δὲ* ap. Stob. *Serm.*, XVI., p. 153, Gesn. What cities the orator has in mind has not been ascertained. — **ἡδίκει**: notice the *continuance* of the action expressed by the *imperf.* in this and the following verbs. — **ἢ μή**: the negat. is to be joined w. *φανῆναι*; had *οὐ* been used, the question would have been less emphatic. The *οὐ* above is joined w. the preceding verbs in the *indic.* and expects an affirmative answer. Here the difference between *μή* and *οὐκ* may be expressed thus: *ἢ (ἐχρῆν) μή (φανῆναι)* = or ought he to have NOT shown himself, i. e. failed to show himself; *ἢ οὐκ (ἐχρῆν) (φανῆναι)* = or ought NOT he to have shown himself, i. e. was it not his duty to.

§ 72. τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν: “*Mysian booty*” was proverbial for helplessness. The proverb arose from the story that during the absence of their king, Telephus, the Mysians became the unresisting prey of their neighbors. Arist. *Rhet.*, I. 12, and Cic. *pro Flacco*, § 27, quote it. — **ζώντων καὶ δητῶν, alive and in being.** — **εἶναι** is sometimes used of an established political existence; so Dem. *Phil.*, III., § 56: *ὅτι ἦν ἡ πόλις*; *de F. L.*, § 64: *οὕσης τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως*. W. Dind. compares *Τιμοδήμῳ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶντι καὶ δητῷ*, Dem. *pro Phorm.*, § 29. — **περιείργασματι, I have overdone the matter,** exceeded my duty. — **ἔδει**: *δεῖ* = it is wanting or needed, physical necessity; *χοή* = it is befitting or due, moral necessity; *προσήκει* = it is becoming or proper. — **τούτων** refers to *ταῦτα πάντα* in § 71. — **ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ,** this was my political course; sc. as implied in *τούτων κωλυτὴν* above. — **καὶ...διετέλουν,** and I was continually forewarning and admonishing you not to surrender (sc. your leadership and your liberties to Philip). The preceding passage, commencing w. § 66, Lord B. regards among the finest in all Dem. He says: “The heavy fire of indignant invective is kept up throughout, only limited by the desire to avoid any too personal offence to an audience as vain as supine, and as impatient of censures as it was deserving of them. The rapidity of the declamation is striking in the highest degree; the number of topics crowded into a few words, in § 71 especially, and the absolute perfection of the choice, is not to be surpassed.” The force and breadth of the argument are no less admirable than the diction and style. It is stated from three points of view: (1) Looking at the condition of Greece, what did the honor of the city require Athens to do (§§ 62–65)? (2) Looking at the parties engaged in this struggle, was Athens to yield or to resist (§§ 66–68)? (3) Looking at the historical facts, ought *any* state to have resisted Philip; if so, which one (§§ 69–72)?

II. §§ 73–78. PHILIP, NOT ATHENS, BROKE THE PEACE; OTHER STATESMEN, NOT DEM., PROPOSED WAR. **τὰ πλοῖα**: reference is made to the seizure and plundering of Athenian merchantmen by Macedonian privateers, let loose by Philip about 340 b. c. This and the devastation of the Chersonesus were among the causes wh. finally determined the Athenians to a formal declaration of war. — **Ψηφίσματα**: the decrees that follow are very unsatisfactory, not only failing to give us the promised answer to the question *τίς τίνος αἰτίος ἐστι*, but also wanting in clearness on the affair of the seizure of the boats.¹

§ 75. **τὸ 8' ἔφεδῆς**: what decrees Dem. refers to is not quite clear; probably, however, the same as those alluded to in § 70 (*τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων*), and bearing upon events prior to the peace of Philocrates. The point that Dem. aims to make in citing these names is, to show that as he was not the one who proposed the peace in the first place (cf. § 21), so he was also not the one who proposed its dissolution. — **Ἡγήσιππος** is the only name that has not already been mentioned. He was a zealous adherent of the popular party. He had proposed the alliance with the Phocians and opposed the peace with Philip. The *seventh* in the order of the Demosthenic orations, *On the Halonnesus*, is now generally attributed to Hegesippus. — **πάντες**, i. e. **πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι**, as some MSS. have it.

§ 76. **τοῦ πολέμου** refers to the resumption of hostilities w. Philip in 340 b. c. — **ἀν ἔχοις**: what would be the form of the condition if expressed? — **εἰ...εἰχε...ἀν...παρέσχου**: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. §§ 537, 538, 539. Notice the shade of difference in the use of the tenses. — **ὑπὲρ**: cf. note § 9.

III. §§ 79–101. DEM. JUSTIFIES HIS FOREIGN ADMINISTRATION. **ἐνταῦθ',** i. e. in the letter just read. Notice again the orator's happy transition from one topic to another: that Philip does not blame him is an indirect witness to his services to the state, wh. he proceeds to enumerate. — **τί ποτ'**: the indef. *ποτέ* adds to the inquiry a certain tone of surprise or astonishment; somewhat like our, *why in the world?* — **γεγράφει**: the MSS. reading is *γέγραφε* or *γέγραφεν*, wh. gives an anomaly of wh. we cannot suppose the orator guilty. Bekk. reads *ἔγραφεν*, V. and W., after Droysen's emendation, γ' *ἔγραφεν*, Dind. has *ἔγεγράφει*. The omission of the augment, as in our text, in the plupf., is not uncommon when a long vowel or diphthong immediately precedes: cf. εὐ *πεπόνθεσαν* § 213; *πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσαν*, Thuc. I. 89; *ἥδη τετελευτήκει*, Xen. *Anab.*, VI. 4. 11. With

¹ Since the remaining documents are generally even more unsatisfactory than those already examined, and as in many, if not most, of our American colleges these documents are wholly omitted in the study of the Oration, the editor has not thought it worth the while to make further annotations upon them.

our reading the sentence is : *he would have made mention if he had written*; with the reading ἔγραφεν : *he would make mention* (ἐμέμνητο used as an impf.) *if he were writing*, the speaker putting himself back to the time when Philip was writing his letter. — τούτων, sc. τῶν ἀδικημάτων. — εἰχόμην, *I fastened myself to*, as a determined foe. *On these I fixed myself*, Kenn.; grappled with, Wh. — τὴν...πρεσβείαν : Dem. was himself a member of this embassy, in 343 B. C. — παρεδύετο, *was trying to steal into*. The Peloponnesus was divided into factions, wh. Philip was insidiously stirring up against one another for the purpose of gaining a foothold for himself. It was through this embassy that the Peloponn. states were aroused to their danger, and Philip was prevented from invading their territory until after Chæronea. — τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν : in the same year as the preceding. — τὴν...ξέδον : these expeditions came two years later (341); first Oreus was delivered and its despot, Philistides, slain; then Cleitarchus, despot of Eretria, was driven forth by Phocion.

§ 80. τοὺς ἀποστόλους, *the naval expeditions*, alluding probably also to the improvements in the trierarchal law introduced by him, wh. are set forth in § 102 ff. Cf. πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν, § 107. — καθ' οὓς = almost δι' ὧν, *per quas*. For similar use of κατά cf. Thuc. I. 60; II. 87. “This use of κατά is somewhat rare, but may be viewed, perhaps, as expressing the *accordance* between the instrument and the result, the cause and the effect, like the adv. *accordingly* in certain cases.” LARNED. — Χερρόνησος: one of Philip's most cherished purposes was to gain possession of the Chersonesus, wh. at this time was partly in the power of Cersobleptes, king of Thrace and an ally of the Athenians. At first Philip contents himself with subjugating C. and occupying the strongest points in Thrace (§ 27). But in 340 B. C. Philip interferes in the contest of the Athenians w. the inhabitants of Cardia, formerly an Athenian dependency; this leads to an open rupture and to a formal invasion of the Chersonesus on the part of Philip. Thence he turns to the Propontis to gain control of the straits that lead to the Euxine. But here his customary good fortune fails him; in vain he besieges Perinthus and Byzantium; the Athenian auxiliary force compels him to withdraw, and again the Chersonesus is free. — οἱ σύμμαχοι, sc. Tenos, Proconnesus, etc. Cf. § 302. — τῶν ἀδικουμένων : gen. of the whole depending on τοῖς μὲν, τοῖς δ'. — ὑμῖν...πεισθεῖσιν, *to those who at that time followed your advice*. — τὸ μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν : subj. of περιεγένετο to be supplied.

§ 81. καὶ μὴν introduces a strong asseveration, = *and verily*. — Φιλιστίδης...Κλείταρχος: cf. note § 79. — ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, *that the possession of these places might be in his hands for your injury*. — ποιῶν ἤδίκει : the

addition of the partic. makes the expression emphatic. — **πανταχοῦ** = anywhere. Cf. note on **πάντων**, § 5.

§ 82. **κατέλυνον**, used to *lodge*. “This very technical use of **καταλύειν** is easily traced: the verb signifies (1) to unloose (sc. the sandals), (2) to rest, (3) to *lodge*; **παρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ Γοργίας καταλύει**, Plat. *Gorg.*, 447 B. The expression is common in Plato, but rare in the orators, who employ the word more commonly of *dissolution*, *destruction*, or *termination*. HOLMES.—**προύξένεις**, *you were their public host*. It was customary for envoys to be entertained by the **πρόξενος** of their city. The **πρόξενος** was a person appointed by the state to protect the interests of his fellow-citizens resident in foreign lands, quite analogous to our consul. Æsch. was not properly the **πρόξενος** of Eubœa, but acted as such. — **ἐχθροῖς**: notice the antithetic position of this word and **φίλοι**, and the emphasis on **σοι**. — **οὐ τοίνυν... οὐδέν**: however great the personal advantages I might have gained from selling my services to Philip and his partisans, I steadfastly opposed all their designs; and yet, notwithstanding this, you reproach me. — **παύσαι**: Attic for **παύση**. — **ἀτιμάσαντες**, *by disabling you*, in a legal sense. If the prosecutor failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes he fell into **ἀτιμα**: i. e. besides incurring a fine of 1000 drachmæ, he was forever disabled from instituting a similar suit. Cf. Beckh *Pub. Econ. Athen.*, p. 492 ff; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 734.

§ 83. **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, i. e. for the successful resistance Dem. offered to the schemes of Cleitarchus and Philistides. — **γράψαντος**: the gen. absol. seems to denote both time and concession here: *although and when*. — **τούτου γιγνομένου**: all attempts to explain the reference of these words seem unsatisfactory. (1) To make **τούτου** refer to the decree of Aristonicus as *second in order* is hardly possible, since nothing is said anywhere of any similar decree prior to this one, and because this interpretation would require **γενομένου**. (2) If **τούτου** refers to the decree of Ctesiphon, we meet with the following difficulties: (a) The word **κηρύγματος** cannot properly be used of the proposal of Ctes., wh. was as yet hardly a **ψήψισμα**. The **κήρυγμα** was the very thing Æsch. sought to prevent by his **παρανόμων γραφή**. (b) How can the aorists **ἀντεῖπεν**, **ἔγραψατο** be joined to this present idea? We must then read: *and whereas the present is now the second proclamation in the theatre WHICH IS COMING OFF in my honor, Æschines, although present, neither SPOKE in opposition, etc.* But “spoke” when? (c) By referring to § 223, it will be seen that the proposal of Ctes. was *third* in order, counting that of Demomeles and Hyperides as a single one. I can find no ground for Holmes’s assumption that the crowns proposed by Aristonicus and by Ctesiphon were the only ones proclaimed *in the theatre*, and therefore *this* was second to *that*; against this supposition is the statement in

§ 223 in regard to the proposal of D. and H.: *τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταύτα ρήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ πρότερον Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὗτοσι.* (3) As the text stands (we believe it is corrupt for the additional reason that the art. *τό* is necessary, since we cannot say *τοῦτό μοι γίγνεται δεύτερον κήρυγμα*, but only *τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται μοι δεύτερον*), the following explanation suggested by V. seems most natural. From a comparison w. §§ 222, 223 we conclude that Dem. had been crowned twice in the theatre before Ctes. made his proposal. (What Dem. says in § 120 refers in general to his coronations, most of wh. occurred in the ordinary localities, the Pnyx and the Senate-house). Now the first proclamation in the theatre was that of Aristonicus, and to this one *τούτου γιγνομένου* refers, but in this way: *δεύτερον γίγνεσθαι = iterari, to be repeated*; hence the entire sentence would read, *and when this proclamation (sc. this one of Arist.) was made a second time in my behalf*, which was done through Demom. and Hyper., whose proposal was couched in the very same terms, and was unsuccessfully attacked by Diondas. Decrees and other legal formulae were often thus repeated in the same terms, the names of the parties concerned alone being changed. (4) W. suggests an excellent emendation, *τοιούτου* for *τούτου*, *τοιούτον* referring to the similarity of the phraseology employed in the decree of Demom. and Hyper. With this change we read: *when therefore you crowned me at that time for these things...and the crown was proclaimed in the theatre, yea, even when such a proclamation was being made for me already now a second time, Æschines, although present, neither spoke in opposition, nor indicted him who had proposed it.* The learner will observe that the partic. *γιγνομένου* has the time of the impf., to denote the continued existence of this proclamation, wh., unlike that of Aristonicus, was the occasion of a suit. That Æsch. did not object the first time, the orator lets pass by; but that he should have taken no notice of the second similar proposal, and still attack the proposal of Ctes., wh. is of the self-same import, this Dem. makes prominent in this much-disputed sentence, as we understand it.

§ 85. *συμβήσεσθαι...στεφανώματι*: for this form of cond. sent. cf. G M T. 444, 689. 2; H. 946, 898; G. 1403, 1522, 1497. 2; Cu. §§ 545, 548, last sentence. — *ώς ἐτέρως* = otherwise, euphemistic for *κακῶς*. — **τότε**, sc. *ὅταν ἡ νέα πράγματα*, emphatic.

§ 86. *οὐκοῦν*, accordingly; marking a conclusion. The *οὐκ* points to the preceding negative idea, *οὐ μέμψεως*, κ. τ. ἐ. What is the meaning of *οὐκοῦν*? — *μὲν* has no corresponding *δέ*, but the implied opposition to *τῶν χρήματων ἐκείνων* is obvious. — *πάντας*, sc. *τοὺς χρόνους*, wh. most MSS. include in the text. — *τῷ νικᾶν*, dat. instrum., *by the fact of my prevailing in speaking and proposing.* — *προσδόους*, *solemn processions.* Cf. *θυσίαι καὶ πομπαῖ*, § 216. — *ώς...διντων*, *on the ground that*, etc.

87. **τοῖνυν**: often used to resume the narration, like our *well, then*. — **τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῷ δὲ πολιτείᾳ**, *with arms indeed by you, but through statesmanship and decrees by me*. The instrum. is denoted by the dat., the agent by ὑπό w. genit. The critical student will notice an inversion in the order of the words ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις × τῷ πολιτείᾳ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ; this is intentional and gives variety. From the form of the letter X the ancient rhetoricians called it *chiasmus*. — **διαρραγῶσι**, *even though some of these should burst*; i. e. *invidia vel indignatione*. Diss. Kenn. quotes Virg. *Eclog.*, VII. 26: *Invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro*. Tyler follows Wh. in taking it to mean, *straining their lungs to contradict me*. — **ἔτερον**, i. e. *alius generis*. Schaeaf. — **ἐπιτειχισμὸν**: in § 71 we have *ἐπιτείχισμα*. Reiske and Schaeaf. understand the allusion to be not to Byzantium, but to the control of the grain trade, wh. was to be to Philip *an instrument of aggression* different fr. the stronghold he had lost in Eubœa. — **ἐπεισάκτω**: Boeckh *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 111, calculates the amount of grain annually imported at one million medimni. The main supply came from the region bordering upon the Pontus. — **παρελθών**, *going along the coast*. — **αἵτῳ**: join w. *συμπολεμεῖν*. — **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, *upon these terms*. Dem. himself went on the embassy (cf. § 244) in 340 b. c. to persuade the Byzantines to resist Philip. He persuaded the Athenians to enter into an alliance w. Byzantium. When Philip saw not only the Athenians, but also the Chians, Rhodians, and Coans coming to the aid of Byzantium, he reluctantly withdrew. — **χάρακα**: by synecdoche for *χαράκωμα = a palisaded camp, a stockade*. — **μηχανήματ'**, *having planted enginery*.

§ 88. **ἐπερωτήσω**: *ἐπερωτᾶν* means *to ask a question again or besides (ἐπὶ)*, as something superfluous. — **τὸ ὑμεῖς**, the word “*you*.” Cf. H. 600 a; G. 955. 2; Cu. § 379. — **τὴν πόλιν λέγω**: this the orator adds in order to be able to say *τῇ πόλει* st. ὑμῖν in the next sentence, and thus to avoid the appearance of making himself out to be the leader and guide of his judges. — **ἀπλῶς**, *in a word, altogether*; it modifies the whole sentence. — **δούς**: so reads also Bekk., after the best MSS.; all other Editt. read *διδούς*, wh. denotes the time of the impf., the same as *γράφων, πράττων*. Reuter defends *δούς* as expressing in the way of a climax both a preterite and a perfect idea; i. e. *who gave and has given*; he also thinks the monosyllable forcible at the close of the period. V., on the contrary, objects that the ears of Dem. would never tolerate the two successive syllables *δῶς δούς*. Dionys. Hal. cites the close succession of the four long syllables in *ἀφειδῶς δοὺς ἔγώ* as an instance of Dem. severity of style.

§ 89. **ὅ...ένστὰς πόλεμος**, i. e. the war between Philip and the Athenians, after the peace of 346 b. c. had been annulled. — **ἄνευ = χωρὶς**, *apart from, besides*. — **ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς...βλόν**, *in all the necessities of life*. — **τῆς νῦν εἰρή-**

νῆσ, i. e. the peace after Chæronea, procured by Demades. — **ἡν...τηροῦσιν**: Dem. calls to mind the refusal of the Athenians, under the influence of the Macedonian party, to support the Peloponnesians in their revolt against Alexander. — **οἱ χρηστοὶ**: cf. note § 30. — **ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν**: the idea would be more logically expressed by *ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίσιν*, since the *hopes* are themselves *present*; but the orator chose this form of expression to correspond to *τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης*. — **διαμάρτοιεν**: what use of the optat. here and in the following verbs? Cf. G M T. 721, 722; H. 870; G. 1507, 1510; Cu. § 514. — **ἄν = τούτων ἄ**: H. 996 a; G. 1031, 1032; Cu. § 598. 2. For the accus. *ἄ* cf. H. 724; G. 1069; Cu. § 402. — **μὴ μεταδοῖεν**: the asyndeton gives emphasis. *μεταδοῦναι* = *to give a share of, to impart*; *μετασχεῖν* = *to receive a share of, to share in*. Most Editt. read *kai μὴ μετάσχοιεν*, κ. τ. *έ*, wh., to say the least, makes the sentiment a harsh one. The omission of *μή* with Σ and Laur. S. gives a much nobler turn to the sentence. The orator utters then the prayer that these treacherous men may fail of realizing their hopes (wh. involve the destruction of their common country), and may enjoy freedom and independence in company w. those who seek to secure their country's highest good; and, on the other hand, that they may not impart to the commonwealth that ruin of public good wh. they have aimed at as a means to promote their own private interests. The thought underlying the whole passage is that the welfare of the state involves the welfare of the individual, and vice versa. Cf. Thuc., II. 60. 2; Soph. *Antig.*, 188–190; Plato *Legg.*, p. 875, A.

§ 93. **ἡ προαιρετις, κ. τ. ἔ**, *my policy and administration* = *the policy of my administration*; an instance of *hendiadys*. Diss. remarks that this is a favorite expression w. Dem. Cf. §§ 192, 292, 317. Notice the rhetorical order wh. makes the object of the sentence more prominent. — **καλοκαγ-θεῖαν**: this word may be translated *honorableness, spirit of honor, generosity; Edelmuth* (Jacobs). The mental characteristics of the *καλὸς κἀγαθός* were *honor, courage, magnanimity. Magnanimity*, perhaps, best renders the word here, as contrasted with *κακλας* = *meanness*.

§ 94. **μερψάμενοι...ἄν = ἐμέμψασθε ἄν**: cf. G M T. 215; H. 987; G. 1308. 2; Cu. § 595. 2. — **ἐν...χρόνοις**, sc. when Byzantium joined Chios, Rhodes, etc., in the so-called Social War against Athens, 357–355 B. C. — **ἀδικουμένους**: how does *ἀδικεῖν* differ fr. *ἀδικεῖσθαι* in meaning? — **σύμ-βουλον...ρήτορα**: though *generals* had often gained that honor for the state, he was the first one who was merely a *statesman* to achieve this.

§§ 95–101. DEMOSTHENES CITES EXAMPLES FROM ATHENIAN HISTORY IN JUSIFICATION OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY. **βλασφημίας...συκο-φαντίας** = *defamations* (*βλάπτω, φημί*), *malicious slanders* (*σῦκον, φαίνω*,

from the false accusations often brought for robbing the sacred fig-trees. Cf. note on *συκοφάντης*, § 112). — **τῶν Βυζαντίων**: Aesch. nowhere in his speech attacks the Byzantines; we must suppose this to be an interpolation, or, what is more probable, that Aesch. omitted this mention of the Byzantines fr. the revised edition of his oration, wh. he made in Rhodes, out of regard for the Rhodians who were the allies of the Byzantines. Cf. A. Schaeff., III., Beilage III., p. 77. Cf. Introduction. — *εἴ τι, st. ὡς τι, in case that, etc.* — **οὐσίας**: G M T. 878, 904; H. 981, 929; G. 1579, 1588; Cu. § 593. — **ὑπάρχειν...εἰδότας**: emphatic st. simply *εἰδέναι*, lit. *you exist knowing*. Cf. § 228: *ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους*. The partic. is used as a predicate adj.; cf. G M T. 830. — **τῷ...συμφέρειν**, *but also from the fact that it was to your advantage so to conduct affairs as I have conducted them.* — **καθ' ὥμας**, *in your day*. Not to be taken too literally, as the battle of Haliartus, mentioned below, occurred in 395 b. c. — **τῇ πόλει**: dat. agent w. *πεπραγμένων*. — **καὶ...καὶ...πράττειν**, *for it is proper both that a man in private and that a state in public should always endeavor to shape the future with respect to the most illustrious precedents of the past.*

§ 96. **ἀρμοσταῖς**: these were the notoriously unpopular governors placed by the Spartans, during their supremacy, over their dependencies. The state of things described here is recognized as existing immediately after the close of the Peloponn. War. For explanation of these historical allusions let the student refer to Grote's, Thirlwall's, or Smith's History, and to Thuc., IV. 66, 74; VIII. 95; Xen. *Hellen.*, II. 2. 3; Plut. *Lysand.*, cap. 13, 14. — **ἄλλας νήσους**, *other islands*, i. e. besides Eubœa and Aegina, as Lesbos, Samos, Melos. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.*, II. 2. 5; 3. 6. It would seem more natural to have *Ἄγιαν* come just before *ἄλλας νήσους*. Many Editt. read *τὰς ἄλλας νήσους*, wh. is interpreted either as an instance of the pleonastic use of *οἱ ἄλλοι* = *the rest*, sc. *islands* (but against this is the mention of Aegina and Eubœa already made), or as meaning *all the remaining islands* (but the Lacedemonians did not obtain control of nearly all). W. accepts Dörre's emendation, *Κέω τὰς* for *Κλεωνὰς*, and objects to Cleonæ as not being, like the rest, in *the circle about Attica*. — **ναῦς...τείχη**: the Athenian navy was limited to 12 ships, and the long walls were razed to the ground. — **Κόρινθον**: the Athenians joined an alliance of the Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives against Sparta. The allied forces were defeated in a battle fought near Corinth, 394 b. c., wh. circumstance gave the name Corinthian to a feeble war that lasted eight years and was terminated by the peace of Antalcidas. — **ἄν ἔχοντων** = *ἄν εἶχον*, *might have borne many grudges*. Cf. § 258, where *ἄν ἔχων* = *ἄν ἔχοιμι*: cf. G M T. 214; H. 987; G. 1308. 2. — **τῶν πραχθέντων**, *for the things that were done*; genit. cause. — **τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον**: the last part of the Peloponn. War was thus named from

the occupation of *Decelea* by the Lacedemonians, in 413 b. c., as a base of operations against Athens. Diss. calls attention to the admirable structure of this period: the participles at the beginning (*ἀρχόντων, κατεχόντων*) describe the threatening situation (*οὕτ' ἀκίνδυνα*), that at the end (*ἐχόντων*) gives the reason why the Athenians might have held aloof (*οὕθ' ἵπέρ εὐεργετῶν*); while in the middle comes the principal sentence (*ἔξηλθετε*), wh. is thereby rendered less emphatic.

§ 97. **πέρας...τηρῆ**: this passage has been much lauded by the ancient critics. Lucian in his *Encom. de Demosth.* compares it with *Iliad*, XIII. 322–328.—**κανὸν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ**, even though one should shut himself up in a cage and keep watch. Harpoer. makes *οικίσκῳ* = *μικρῷ τινι οικήματι*. Didymus in Harpoer. renders it *ὅρυθοτροφεῖω*, wh. may be the origin of the ludicrous interpretation of the Scholiast: “Man must die anyhow, even though he change his manner of life, and, fancying himself to be a bird, shut himself up in a bird-cage.”—**τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς...τὴν ἀγαθὴν**, men that are good, the hope that is good; generic use of the article.—**προβαλλομένους**, casting before themselves, as a shield; cf. § 301. Professor Tyler calls attention to the same figure in *Ephesians*, vi. 16.

§ 98. **πρεσβύτεροι**: the events referred to occurred some 40 years before the delivery of this speech.—**ἐπειδὴ**: the unusual order of this sentence is occasioned by the emphatic position given to *Δακεδαιμονίους*.—**Δεύκτροις**: cf. note § 18.—**διεκωλύσατε**: in 369 b. c. the Thebans invaded Lacedaemon and threatened the destruction of Sparta, but were hindered by an Athenian force sent out under Iphicrates, and finally compelled to retire from Laconia.—**οὐδὲ...διαλογισάμενοι**, nor taking into account what those men had done for whom you were about to incur danger.

§ 99. **καὶ γάρ**: *καὶ* is used elliptically; *and* you did so, i. e. take no account of, etc. *γάρ* is epexegetical, introducing the fuller statement of *διαλογισάμενοι*.—**τούτων** refers back to *ότιοῦν* used in a collective sense, and is genit. cause w. *δργῆν*.—**ὑπολογιεῖσθε** has for its original meaning *reckon in the account*.—**ἄντε** = *τούτων ἄντε*: cf. note § 89.—**Εὔβοιαν**: in 357 b. c. Eubœa was divided into two factions, one of wh. had called in the aid of the Thebans for overthrowing democratic institutions. By the aid of the Athenians the Thebans were driven out, and the old regime was re-established. Cf. *Aesch.*, § 85; *Diod.*, XVI. 7.—**Ὀρωπὸν**: Oropus, situated on the border between Attica and Boeotia, had long been a bone of contention between these two states. In 366 b. c. Themison and Theodorus, the despots of Eretria, w. aid of the Thebans seized the place, wh. then belonged to Athens. The question of right of control came before a court of arbitration, and was decided in favor of Athens. But the Thebans declined to give up Oropus. Hence arose the famous *δίκη περὶ Ὀρωποῦ*; cf.

Diod., XV. 76; Xen. *Hellen.*, VII. 4. 1. After Chæronea the possession of Oropus was guaranteed the Athenians by Philip. — ἐθελοντῶν...τριηραρχῶν, *voluntary trierarchs*, in addition to the regularly appointed trierarchs, who did not suffice for that year. On the office of the trierarchy vid. Diet. *Antiq.* and note § 102. — οὕπω, sc. εἰπεῖν μέλλω.

§ 100. καὶ modifies the weaker idea of τὸ σῶσαι in contrast w. the stronger τὸ ἀποδοῦναι. “Merely” expresses it very well. — τὴν νῆσον, i. e. Eubœa. — τὸ...ἀποδοῦναι, *in that when you had become established as masters of their persons and their cities you restored these rightfully to those who had themselves done you injury.* — καταστάντες: government? Cf. H. 940; G. 927; Cu. § 570. — ὑπολογισάμενοι is preceded in all the MSS. except in Σ, L, A², by ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε, wh. is probably a gloss from the corresponding passage in Ἀesch., § 85. — τῆς...Ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας: most MSS. and Editt. place ἔνεκα either after or before Ἐλλήνων. ἔνεκα is, however, not essential. The constr. στρατείας ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας is closely related to the constr. τοῦ Φωκέας ἀπολέσαι expressing purpose or object, and has underlying it the idea of price or value. Cf. *de F. L.*, § 76: πάσ' ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας δλέθρου. Learned remarks upon the periodic form of the whole statement concerning the foreign administration of the orator as follows: “He first speaks of what the honor of Athens required, §§ 62–72; he next sets forth his own actions as being in accordance with the demands of that honor, §§ 73–94; he concludes w. what Athens had done in time past honorable to herself, §§ 95–100; thus uniting the whole topic in the one point of the honor of Athens.”

101. εἰτ̄: of succession of thought. — ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κ. τ. ἐ., *when the deliberation was in a certain sense in behalf of herself*; in the cases cited it was in behalf of others. — νῇ Δίᾳ, *yea verily*; the ironical force is manifest. Cf. § 117. — οὐκ ἀν ἀτέκτεινέ...εἰ...ἐπεχειρησα: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. § 537. Some of the best MSS. have ἀν w. ἐπεχειρησα. How would this modify the clause? Cf. G M T. 245, 506; G. 1338, 1421. 3. — λόγῳ μόνον, *to tarnish by word only*; for it could be tarnished in no other way. λόγῳ is in contrast w. ἔργον, and means simply *by counselling*. — εἰ ἡβούλεσθε...ἥν: how does this cond. sent. differ fr. that noticed last?

IV. §§ 102–109. DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION. τούτων ἔξης, *next in order to these just mentioned*. — πάλιν αὖ, *once again*. — καταλυόμενον, *in a state of dissolution*. — ἀτελεῖς, *exempted*; cf. ἀτελῆς τῶν ἀλλων λειτουργιῶν, Dem. c. *Mid.*, § 155. — ἀπὸ, *by the payment of*. Diss. cites ἀπὸ σμικροῦ, Aristoph. *Plut.*, 377. There were four forms of the trierarchy. In its original form every wealthy citizen was required to furnish the state one trireme. Throughout this earliest period, this duty was an object of ambition to the wealthiest citizens. Later, when the citizens were reduced in wealth, prob-

ably soon after the disastrous Sicilian expedition in 412 B. C., two were permitted to unite in a syntrierarchy. The system became gradually more inefficient, and in 357 B. C. came the third form. A law was enacted acc. to wh. the 1200 wealthiest citizens (120 fr. each tribe) were required to furnish and maintain the navy. These *contributors* (*συντελεῖς*), as they were called, were divided into 20 classes of 60 each, called *συμμορίαι*, and these classes were subdivided into companies of 15 each, and each company (*συντέλεια*) had the charge of one trireme. (In § 104 it is stated that 16 were found in each company; Boeckh supposes the 16th to be a kind of overseer or chief of the company.) But, in order to make the system more efficient, there was formed a smaller board, composed of the 300 richest men selected from the 1200. These were called the *ήγεμόνες* or *ἐπιμελητραὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν*, and constituted a general committee of administration. They advanced money, let out the contracts, made the purchases, etc., and levied the tax equally upon all their copartners. By this system every contributor paid exactly the same amount of tax irrespective of the amount of his income. It is easily seen how the rich, by shrewd management in letting out the contracts and apportioning the tax, might exempt themselves from any payment, and how inefficient a navy thus provided must become. The reform in the trierarchal law was proposed by Dem. as *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ* in 340 B. C., and consisted in assessing every citizen according to his wealth. One trireme was to be furnished by every 50 talents of property value, or by every 10 talents rated, the rate being one fifth of the whole. The maximum that could be claimed from any one was three triremes and a tender. Cf. Boeckh, *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, Book IV. — *ἀπολλύοντας*: so reads Σ; V. follows. All the other MSS. and Editt. (so far as I know) insert *τὰ δυτα* before this partic. as its object. V. makes the partic. agree w. *τοὺς πλουσίους* and govern *τοὺς...κεκτημένους*, and translates: *et cires meliores aut tenues perdere*. This form of expression receives support from the similar statement in § 104: *τοὺς δ' ἀπέβρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν*. — *Ἐτι* = *prarterea*. — *τῶν καιρῶν*, *missing its opportunities*, for want of promptness.

§ 103. *ἄγωνα*: Holmes joins this word first w. *γραφεῖς* as a cognate accus. after passive const., and then again w. *εἰσῆλθον*. But most Editt. regard *γραφεῖς* as used absolutely. The entire expression is best rendered: *and having been indicted I entered upon a trial of this kind* (i. e. the same kind of trial as that wh. Ctesiphon is now undergoing, sc. *γραφὴ παρανόμων*) *before you and was acquitted*. Cf. *εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν*, § 105. “*Dicitur, ut constat, εἰσέρχεσθαι, εἰσιέναι et de reo et de actore aut accusatore.*” Diss. — *τὸ μέρος*, sc. *πέμπτον*. The ordinal adj. is omitted, as here, in §§ 222, 250; but it is expressed in § 266. Cf. note on *ἀτιμώσαν-*

res, § 82. — **τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους**, the second and third ranks, after the ἄγεμόνες τῶν συμμοριῶν in the order of the valuation of their property. — **διδόναι**, attempted to give, i. e. offered: an impf. de conatu. So ἐδίδοσαν, § 104. — **εἰ δὲ μή**, but if not, i. e. but if I should not μὴ θεῖναι; we can best translate it, but otherwise, as it expresses the alternative to ὥστε μή θεῖναι. Cf. G M T. 478; H. 906; G. 1417. — **ἐάντι ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ**: acc. to Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 285, the ὑπωμοσία was a declaration under oath that one had the purpose to bring a γραφὴ παρανόμων against a decree or measure before the assembly for deliberation. The effect of this declaration was either to prevent the final vote by wh. a bill became a νόμος, or, in case the bill was already passed, to stay its operation until the complaint παρανόμων had been tried and decided in the proper court. In the midst of this process the author of a bill could drop it and leave it under affidavit or protest. — **καταβάλλοντα**: the more usual reading is **καταβαλόντα**, wh. is transl. by Kenn., having entered it in the public register (i. e. ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ, where the public archives were kept). With this agree Bremi, Reiske, Holmes, et al. But this rendering is impossible w. our reading (pres. partic.), and one cannot let a bill go by default before it has been recorded. The transl., dropping it to leave it under protest, seems most in harmony w. the context. This view is preferred by Wh., Diss., W., V., et al.

§ 104. **ἡν** = εξῆν. — **αὐτοῖς μὲν... ἀναλίσκουσι... ἐπιτρίβουσιν**: in appos. w. αὐτοῖς dependent on **ἡν**. **ἐπιτρίβειν** is similar to our English, to grind the faces of the poor. — **μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν**: our Engl. idiom has a disjunctive particle, little OR nothing. — **τὸ γιγνόμενον**, the amount resulting by rate according to their property. — **τιθέναι** depends gramm. on **ἡν**, but logically on the idea of συνέβη contained in **ἡν**. — **δυοῖν**, sc. τριηρῶν. This contribution would come from one who possessed property to the value of 100 talents, or 20 talents of ratable value. — **τῆς μᾶς**, of the single one, that would have to be furnished in compliance with the old law. — **δὴ**, as I have said, viz. in § 103. — **ἐδίδοσαν**, cf. διδόναι, § 103.

§ 107. **δοκῶ**: the personal st. impers. const., as often; the 3d plur. to be supplied w. **οἱ πλούσιοι**. — **ἀν... ἔθελειν** = ἀν ἔθελοιεν. Cf. G M T. 204, 205; H. 964; G. 1308. 2; Cu. § 575. 1. — **τοῦ... ποιεῖν**: gen. price, expressing purpose: for the sake of doing, to do. Notice how the order of the words gives emphasis to the contrast in **μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι... μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι**. — **καθυ-φεῖναι**: composition? Transl., to compromise, Kenn.; lit. to let slip in an underhand manner. — **τῷ... σεμνύνομαι**, pride myself upon or because of, w. dat. of cause; but the verb is more commonly followed by **ἐπι**. — **τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι**, and upon the fact that it (sc. τὸν νόμον) has given proof of itself by actual experience. Cf. a similar expression in § 195. —

πάντα...πόλεμον: this refers, acc. to Grote, Cap. XC., to the entire period of hostility fr. the renewal of the war in August, 340 b. c., to the battle of Chæronea in August, 338 b. c. — **ικετηρίαν**: the suppliant was wont to place a wreath or twig, usually of olive, wound about with woollen bands, upon the altar of the deity whose favor was sought. The Scholiast informs us that there was an altar to Artemis in Munychia, to wh. seamen and trierarchs used to repair to offer their supplications and make known their grievances. — **τῶν ἀποστολέων**, *the naval board*, wh. had ten members, whose duty it was to superintend the affairs of the *ἀπόστολοι*. — **ἐδέθη** implies that they had the power of imprisonment. — **καταλειφθεῖσα**, *abandoned*, because of its slowness or unseaworthiness; **ἀπελείφθη** = *left behind in port*. — **αὐτοῦ**, here, i. e. in the harbor of Peiraeus, as opposed to **ξεω** = *outside, at sea*.

§ 108. **ἔγιγνετο**, *were habitually occurring*. — **τὸ δ' αὐτιον**, lit. and as regards the cause; in apposition w. the following sentence; similar are **σημείου δέ, τεκμήριον δέ**. Cf. Dem. de Cherson., § 32. — **ἐν...ῆν**, *lay upon*. — **τὰ ἀδύνατα**, *cases of inability*, to furnish the required quota. — **πάντ' ...ἔγιγνετο**, *accordingly all requirements were wont to be met*. — **δόξαι**, κ. τ. ἐ.: the plur. expresses repeated instances of the *renown*, etc. — **βάστανον**, κ. τ. ἐ.: “*No sordid envy, no rancor, no malignity...and no meanness*.” Leland. For other instances of **βάστανος**, a favorite word w. Dem., cf. §§ 119, 132, 242, 317.

§ 109. **ἐν...τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν** = *home or domestic affairs* as opposed to **ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς** = *foreign affairs*. — **ἀντὶ...συμφερόντων**, *in preference to the common interests of all the Greeks*.

(c) §§ 110–119. THE QUESTION OF ACCOUNTABILITY. **τοίνυν**, *now then, to proceed*. — **τὸ** belongs to the whole sentence introduced by **ως**, and is subj. accus. of **δεδηλώσθαι**. Transl., *the statement that, etc.* — **μοι**, dat. agent w. perf. pass. — **τὰ μέγιστά γε**, *the most important, with emphasis (from γε) on most*. The orator alludes to the last contest w. Philip, wh. ended w. Chæronea. — **ὑπολαμβάνων**, *supposing*. **ὑπολαμβάνειν** = *sub ponere*. — **ἀποδοῦναι**: why rather than **δοῦναι**? — **ὁμοίως**, *equally, all the same*, as though I had made mention of my remaining measures, in wh. case **μοι** below is dat. of int. w. **ὑπάρχειν**, *exists for me*. Cf. § 39. So Diss., Bremi, Wh., Jacobs, and most Editt. But some prefer to join **ὁμοίως** more directly w. **μοι**, in the sense of *equally with me*. Transl., *nevertheless the consciousness of these facts exists as my witness in each of your hearts*.

§ 111. **τῶν...λόγων** depends on **τοὺς πολλούς**, wh. is the obj. of both **μανθάνειν** and **συνεῖναι**. — **ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν**, *sursum et deorsum per miscendo*, V.; *das Oberste und Unterste durch einander rührend*, Jacobs; Holmes paraphrases it, *in a bewildered medley*. — **παραγεγραμμένων νόμων**:

in a γραφὴ παρανόμων the prosecutor was obliged to publish in parallel columns the laws and the proposed measures that were attacked as contravening them. — **διακεχείρικα**: this verb is used especially of the administration of financial affairs.

§ 112. **ἐπαγγελάμενος**, *having offered of my own accord.* “δέδωκα in connection w. ἐπαγγελάμενος amounts to ἐπιδέδωκα. On the subj. of ἐπιδόσεις (patriotic donations) cf. Smith's *Dict. Antiq.*” HOLMES. — **τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων**: these are mentioned as being subject to the most rigid scrutiny for the discharge of their official duties. — **φιλόδωρον**, *munificent, generous.* φιλο in composition is active when it is the first, but passive when it is the second part of the compound; e. g. φιλάνθρωπος = loving man, θεόφιλος = beloved of God. So φιλόδωρος = fond of giving. — **τοὺς συκοφάντας**, *and to bring him before the Pettifoggers and to appoint these to audit his donations.* The art. τοὺς is used to point out an analogy to εἰς τοὺς λογιστάς as the regular commission or board for auditing accounts. The opprobrious term συκοφάντης was applied to a class of men who made it their business to play the spy upon their fellow-citizens, in order that by threatening an accusation they might extort “hush-money” from violators of law, or levy “black-mail” upon innocent persons. For the etymology of the term cf. note on συκοφάντια, § 95. But L. and Sc. in the 6th Oxford Edit. prefer the following, wh. seems to point directly to the actual use of the word: “one who brings figs to light by shaking the tree; hence one who makes rich men yield up their fruit by informations, and other vile arts.” The comic poets, particularly Aristoph. (cf. *Acharn.*, 818–828), hold this class of men up to contempt and ridicule. The term has been variously rendered: *pettifogger, partisan, slanderer, informer.* This and the following sections contain the ἄφυκτος λόγος of the orator, as Aesch. calls it. Its fallacy, however, is apparent. Dem. skilfully avoids the real issue. The question was not whether Dem. should first give account of his *donations*, but of his *administration*; for such an account must first prove what he had thus far simply asserted, viz. that he had made *bona fide* donations, and not stolen fr. the state with one hand what with the other he had given as a pretended donation. To be sure, when this speech was delivered this point was fully proved; the accounts of Dem. had long ago been audited and approved; but at the time Aesch. made his complaint (some 7 years before) the charge of illegality on this score was technically just.

§ 113. **τῷ θεωρικῷ**: cf. note, § 55. — **ἐπέδωκα**, *I gave a donation of money.* ἐπιδιδόναι = lit. to give in addition to the amount due. The author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators* (Pseudo Plut., p. 846) places this donation at 10,000 drachmæ. — **ἐπήνεστεν... ὑπεύθυνον**: this is professedly quoted fr. the proposal of Ctes. The common reading inserts ἡ βουλὴ as

subj. of *ἐπήρεσεν*, but Σ omits this most properly, as V. remarks, since Aesch. did not accuse the *Senate*, but Ctes. only. Observe that Dem. adroitly substitutes this verb (= *ἐπαινεῖν ἔγραψε*) for *στεφανοῦν ἔγραψε*. — *οὐ περὶ τούτων, κ. τ. ἐ*: yes, but not (did he propose to laud me) *on account of those things for which I was held responsible, but for what donations I made, O pettifogger!* — *τειχοποιὸς*: cf. note § 55. — *τάνηλωμένα*, the money expended; this was, acc. to Aesch. in the passage cited below, in addition to the 10 talents received fr. the state, the sum of 100 minæ fr. his own purse; but acc. to *Lives of the Ten Oratt.*, p. 851, this sum was 3 talents. — *ὅδι*: i. e. Ctesiphon. The demonstrative *ι* has the *deictic* force = *here present*. So *οὗτοσι* below.

§ 114. *ἡθεσιν*, *in vestris quidem moribus*. Diss. “It was in their very natures not to require such a thing” (Larned), sc. as to give account of donations. Reiske, Schaef., Dind., prefer the reading *ἡθεσιν* = *customs, practices*, as opposed to *νόμοις*. Cf. § 275; Isocr. *Panegyr.*, § 152: *ἄλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς διαμένοντιν*. — *Ναυσικλῆς* was leader of the forces sent to aid the Phocians in 352 b. c. Cf. Diod. XVI. 37. — *οἵτε*: some Editt. read *ὅτι*; but both the idea of time and of cause may be expressed by *ὅτε*, and, while *cause* is natural as corresponding to *ἔφ' οἷς* above, *time* seems required w. the change of tense in *ἐστεφανοῦντο*. — *Διότιμος*: in *Lives of the Ten Oratt.*, p. 844, he is called one of the leaders of the people, and in Arrian *Anab.*, I. 10. 4, he is named as one of the statesmen whose surrender Alexander demanded. — *Χαρίδημος*: a brave soldier, leader of a mercenary force, who rendered the Athenians great service in their Thracian expeditions. Dem., in his *Orat. c. Aristocr.*, §§ 151, 185, 188, speaks of his receiving a crown. — *ἐστεφανοῦντο*: why this change of tense? Drake supposes that the perfect (*ἐστεφάνωται, τετίμηται*) denotes that Nausicles and Neoptolemus were still living, the imperfect (*ἐστεφανοῦντο*) that Diotimus and Charidemus were dead. But this supposition seems true only in case of Neoptolemus; at least of the others it is not known whether they were alive or dead. V. suggests that the perf. represents the act as completed, the impf. as customary. — *Νεοπτόλεμος*: the rich man referred to in Dem. *c. Mid.*, § 215. He was probably present; hence *οὗτοσι*. — *ἴργων*, sc. *δημοσίων*. — *ἀν εἴη...εἰ...ἔξεσται...ὑφέξει*: to make a regular cond. sent., what forms would be required in the conditional to correspond to the consequent clause? How would this change affect the sense? — *ὑφέξει*, shall subjoin accounts, the prep. *ὑπό* denoting *under* or *below*; here in the sense of *at the foot* of his list of donations. The orator aims to show here that usage was on his side. The precedents he cites may have been exactly in point; but unless they were, his argument fails in so far as he does not prove, but simply assumes, that these men received their honors *before* they had rendered their account.

§ 115. **τΟΥΤΟΙΣ**: dat. int. w. γεγενημένα : the very decrees passed in honor of these men.

§ 117. **οἰς**: supply *τούτων* as antecedent in the same constr. as *τῆς ἀρχῆς*. — **οὐκοῦν οὐδ'** ἔγώ, and therefore I am not either. The *οὐκ* in *οὐκοῦν* looks back to *οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος* just preceding, and implies an interrogatory, *am I not οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος?* — **ταῦτα γὰρ...δήπου**, for I presume I have the same rights w. reference to the same things as the rest of mankind. The sarcasm of this truism need hardly be pointed out. — **ἐπέδωκα**: the punctuation varies in diff. Editt., most placing a colon here and after *ἡρχον* and *ἥρξα*. But to put these statements as suppositions in the interrogatory form seems very suitable to the idea. *Have I given donations? (very well), for this I am praised, etc.* The same is true of §§ 198, 274. — **οὐκ ὅντις**: the partc. is causal: while or since I am not. — **ἔδωκα = ἐπέδωκα**. “The simple verb may follow after the more complete form.” V. — **δέδωκα**: this was true at the time he said it, but not when the suit was first brought, 7 years before. — **νὴ Δι', ἀλλ', yea, verily, but did I discharge my official duties in an unjust manner?** A more forcible form of introducing an objection than the more usual *ἀλλὰ νὴ Δια*. — **εἴτε** gives a certain degree of surprise and indignation to the inquiry. — **εἰσήγον**, sc. *εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*. W. understands this, not of leading into court to answer charges of unsatisfactory accounts, as Diss. seems to take it, but of the presentation of the accounts already audited and approved by the Logistæ to the general court for confirmation; at this time any citizen might bring in a complaint for malfeasance or fraud, in response to the customary invitation: *τίς κατηγορεῖν βούλεται*; Cf. Meier and Schöm., p. 103. — **οὐ κατηγόρεις**: most Editt. punctuate, as this, with a mark of interrogation, but translate as if *τί* or *διὰ τί = why?* preceded. Voem. objects to this punctuation on the ground that thus we get the opposite sense (*did you not accuse me?* meaning *yes*) to what is intended. But this is not necessarily the sense. The statement receives a sarcastic force from the interrogative form: *you did not accuse me?* Doubtless, the orator's tone of voice more clearly indicated this sarcasm, as also in the preceding *νὴ Δι'...ἥρξα*. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 25: *εἴτα τότ' οὐκ ἔλεγες παραχρῆμα ταῦτα οὐδ' ἔδιδασκες ἡμᾶς*;

§ 118. **ἐστεφανῶσθαι**: to be understood of the *proposal to crown*. — **οἰς τοῦ προβούλεύματος**: “the construction is *τούτοις γὰρ τοῦ προβούλεύματος* & οὐκ ἔγράψατο, for by those parts of the preliminary resolution which he has not indicted it will be clearly proved that he is malicious in those which he does attack.” Wh. To make the attack upon a part and not upon the whole of this transaction is a proof of malicious intent.

§ 119. **φησιν ή βουλὴ**: the Senate had adopted the proposal of Ctes. Cf. note, § 9. — **παρανόμων γράφη**, *you indict as illegal*. *παραν.* is genit.

crime or charge. — **οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος**: the art. **ὁ** is used generically, to designate one of a class, *not such an one?* The orator is fond of winding up a division of his speech by some such sharp appeal as this. Cf. §§ 52, 101; de F. L., 66. In comparing the parallel argument of Æsch. we notice an anticipation of one point wh. Dem. does not touch upon, sc. that his office does not fall within the intent of the law of accountability, since it is not a regular magistracy (*ἀρχή*). From the silence of Dem. we must infer either that Æsch. inserted this argument in the later edition of his oration, or that Dem. judged it unwise to attempt any refutation. The answer of Dem. to this second count of the indictment is generally regarded as unsatisfactory, at least when taken from a strictly legal standpoint. How far the law requiring the incumbent of an office to give in the account of his administration prior to his receiving any public honor may have become obsolete, it is impossible to say; that it had often been disregarded before, seems quite probable from what we know of the irregular and imperfect character of Athenian administration. And hence Dem. may have felt it quite safe to leave this point of the case out of view, as likely to be overshadowed by the argument showing the unreasonableness of being obliged to give an account of one's donations to the public service.

(d) §§ 120–122. THE PLACE OF PROCLAMATION. **μυριάκις μυρίους**: a rhetorical exaggeration; yet not so great as might be, judging fr. the statements of Æsch. — **πολλάκις...ἐστεφανώσθαι**: notice the change in the phraseology (*στεφανοῦν* st. *κηρύττειν*), and cf. note, § 83. — **σκαῖδος** = perverse. — **τοῦ δὲ...συμφέροντος**: “etsi vero non dubium veram causam rei fuisse, ut etiam exterorum quam plurimi coronatos cives et urbem talium civium matrem admirarentur, Demosthenis ingenium agnoseas in eo, quod pulchriorem interpretationem proponit.” Diss. The same motive is appealed to by Æsch. *c. Cles.*, § 177 ff., and by Lycurg. *c. Leocr.*, § 10.

§ 121. **πλὴν...ἀναγορεύετω** is a direct citation fr. the law. — **ψηφίσηται**, sc. **ἀναγορεύεσθαι** ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. — **ἀναγορεύετω**, sc. ὁ κῆρυξ. The argument upon the third count of the indictment may be summed up thus: (1) Æsch. claims that the place of proclamation is fixed by law as follows: crowns awarded (a) by the people must be proclaimed in the Ecclesia; (b) by the Senate, in the Bouleuterion; (c) by the committee of the deme or tribe, in the deme or tribe meeting. (2) Dem. claims that the proclamation of *any* crown may be made in the theatre on the vote of the people or of the Senate. (3) Æsch., anticipating this statement, argues that the proclamation in the theatre under special vote applies only to the crowns bestowed upon Athenian citizens by foreign states. As the claim of neither can be confirmed by genuine proofs, we are unable to decide this disputed point. Most critics hold that Æsch. is here also, as in the matter of accountabil-

ity, *technically* in the right ; yet that it is manifestly improbable that the proposal of Ctes. would have been accepted by the Senate, had not *usage* been on his side. But Westermann and others call in question the truthfulness of Æsch. representation, that the Athenian people had voluntarily and wholly cut themselves off from the privilege of proclaiming in the theatre the honors they themselves conferred, while permitting this very thing to be done in the case of crowns awarded by foreigners ; and they believe Æsch. guilty either of perverting the so-called Dionysiac law, or of suppressing that most essential clause cited by Dem. This opinion finds support in the language of Dem. : *νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη.* But this again is the very charge Æsch. brings against Dem. Cf. infra : *χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ, κ. τ. ἐ — ἐλλεβορίζεις, purge with hellebore,* as a cure for insanity. — *αἰσχύνῃ...εἰσάγειν...μεταποιῶν...ἀφαιρῶν :* many Editt. read *εἰσάγων.* Ordinarily, what is the diff. between the partic. and the infin. after *αἰσχύνομαι ?* Cf. G M T. 903. 1 ; H. 986 ; G. 1580, 1581 ; Cu. § 594. A similar mingling of partic. and infin. without any apparent diff. in the sense, occurs in Xen. *Cyrop.*, V. 1, 21. 22. Transl., *you are not even prevented through shame from introducing, and you are not ashamed to alter and to garble.* — **φθόνον :** genit. cause, denoting the motive. — **ἀδικήματος,** for any misdeed ; genit. cause, denoting the charge or crime.

§ 122. **τῷ δημοτικῷ :** a sarcastic allusion to the words of Æsch. given below. — **ἔχοντα** agrees with *αὐτὸν* to be supplied as obj. of *κομιζόμενος.* — **λόγῳ,** by *description* or *definition*, as opposed to *πράγμασι...πολιτεύμασι*, and in allusion to the terms of the *συγγραφή.* Some render it incorrectly, *by their speech*, wh. would require *τῷ λόγῳ* or *τοῖς λόγοις.* — **τοὺς δημοτικοὺς...γιγνωσκομένους :** change of constr. after *ώσπερ* fr. nom. (*ἐκδεσωκώς*) to accus. absol. Cf. § 276 ; G M T. 853 ; H. 974 ; G. 1570 ; Cu. § 588. — **ρῆτὰ καὶ ἄρρητα** = lat. *dicenda et tacenda* ; “*names mentionable and unmentionable.*” Wh. “*Billingsgate, as the Londoners would say.*” Kenn. — **ἀμάξης :** in allusion to the custom of the Athenians to revile and banter one another in most unbecoming language, while they were riding in open carts or wagons at the celebration of the Anthesterian festival, particularly on the second day, the X̄es. Vid. *Dict. Antiq. Dionysia.* Cf. note on *πομπέας*, § 11. This same practice was in vogue among the Athenian women at the Thesmophoria. Cf. Creuzer’s *Symbol.*, IV. 462.

(e) §§ 123 – 125. TRANSITION TO THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION. **καὶ τοῦτο,** *this also*, sc. *let me say*, in addition to the statement introduced by *καὶ βοᾷς* above. — **ἔχειν,** *has to do with, involves.* — **λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας,** *κ. τ. ἐ*, *but calumny involves defamations, which foes chance to utter against one another in harmony with their own proper spirit.* Cf.

note on § 10. With this cf. Cic. *pro Cœl.*, 3. 6 : “*Sed aliud est maledicere, aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet; maledictio autem nihil habet propositi præter contumeliam.*”—**ἴπειληφα**: we say in Engl., *I take it that*, expressing an opinion resulting from previous reflection.—**ἀπὸ τῶν ιδίων = ex vita privata**, to be joined w. *κακῶς λέγωμεν*.—**τὰ ἀπόρρητα**, things forbidden, hence *disgraceful scandals*. Dem. has special reference to the scandalous personalities of Æsch., § 171 ff.

§ 124. **οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐμοῦ = ὅμοιως ἐμοὶ.** — **πομπεύειν = λοιδορεῖν.** Cf. note on *πομπεῖας*, § 11. — **οὐδ’ ἔνταῦθα**, not even here, i. e. in these personalities. — **Ἐλαττον, κ. τ. ἐ.**, is he justly to come off with less, i. e. than he gave. — **φῆ**, why the subj. ? Cf. G M T. 287, 289 ; H. 866, 3 c ; G. 1358, 1359 ; Cu. § 511. — **ἡν = ἐξην**. — **ὑπὲρ τούτων**: in behalf of these, sc. the Athenian citizens. — **εἰ πέρ ἥδικουν**: if in fact I did wrong, as by the form of the condition he assumes. — **ἴξελειπες**, you repeatedly neglected to do so, sc. *λαβεῖν δίκην*.

§ 125. **ἀθώος**, stand clear by every consideration. — **τῷ χρόνῳ**, by the time, i. e. wh. elapsed since the accusation was first made, nearly 8 years. — **τῇ προθεσμίᾳ**, by the statute of limitation. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 636, state that 5 years was the limit allowed for bringing prosecutions in cases of indebtedness, recovery of estates, etc. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* could be brought against the author of a decree only within the limit of a year after its proposal ; later than this, the *decrece* could still be attacked, but not its *author*. Ctesiphon, whom Dem. represents, was therefore *ἀθώος τῇ προθεσμίᾳ*. — **τῷ κεκρίσθαι...πρότερον**: Diss. makes this refer to the prosecutions by Dionidas (§ 222), and by Patrocles for the trierarchical law (§ 105). — **τῇ πόλει δ’, κ. τ. ἐ**, but (where) the state must needs share more or less in the reputation connected with my public transactions, there have you encountered me ? The *enthymeme* contained in this section may be stated thus: Æsch. professes to be the enemy of Dem. ; but his prosecution is so conducted that it can result only in injury to the state ; ergo, he is the enemy of Dem. only in name, but of the state in fact. The student will recollect that this same charge of being dishonest as an accuser was made by Dem. against his rival at the outset of his speech (§§ 12–16). There, as here, this charge rests on the fact that Æsch. prosecuted so long after the alleged crimes had been committed, that now they could not be properly punished even if proved ; but there the conduct of Æsch. is explained as due to personal hatred, here as influenced by a purpose to injure the state. With this sharp reproach, the orator concludes what may be regarded as his defence, and proceeds to the attack.

THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 126–323. STRICTURES ON THE PERSONAL CHARACTER AND PUBLIC CAREER OF ÆSCHINES, AND REVIEW OF HIS OWN GENERAL POLICY.
 (a) §§ 126–131. PERSONAL CHARACTER OF ÆSCHINES AS AN ORATOR AND A MAN. (b) §§ 132–323. THE CAREER OF ÆSCHINES AS A CITIZEN AND STATESMAN CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF DEMOSTHENES.

(a) §§ 126–131. *δέδεικται*, has been indicated to all, sc. by his preceding arguments. The quiet assurance of the orator, as if certain of his case, probably suggested to the ancient critics the idea that a burst of applause followed his last sentence, wh. he interpreted as a clear proof of his acquittal. We may well believe that the orator had more convincing, if less palpable, tokens than this of his power over his auditors. — *δέ* introduces an *anacoluthon*. The apodosis that would regularly follow *ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν...* *δέδεικται*, is suppressed under the influence of passion. (Cf. Hermog. Περὶ Ἰδεῶν, II. p. 342.) V. supposes that the orator, had he spoken calmly, might have expressed himself thus: *χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ δέ, τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ*. But it is only after a vehement outburst of passion (in §§ 127, 128), called forth by the invective of Æsch., that the orator proceeds (in § 129) to speak of the personal history of his opponent, without regard to the structure of his previous period. — *βλασφημίας* should regularly come after *εἰρημένας*, but is placed before it for the sake of rhetorical emphasis. Similar are *τὴν τότε...δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν*, § 98, *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους*, § 201, *τῇ...ἀρχῇ πραττομένη*, § 293. W. — *αὐτὰ* = by themselves, alone. Cf. § 168. As Æsch. before occasioned the self-laudation of Dem., so now he is blamed for the personal invective uttered by his rival. We could wish that Dem. had magnanimously refused to follow the example of Æsch. in this regard. — *τίνων* = *ἐκ τίνων*. — *διασύρει*: Cf. note on *διέσυρε*, § 27. — *μετρίων* has the same sense here as in § 10.

§ 127. *Αἰακὸς, κ. τ. ἐ*: the three judges in Hades, who were regarded as models of stern and inflexible justice. — *σπερμολόγος*: Deriv.? For the meaning Schaeff. cites Eustath. *Hom. Odyss.*, p. 1547: *εἰδός ἔστιν ὄρνεον λωβώμενον τὰ σπέρματα· ἐξ οὐ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ σπερμολόγους ἐκάλουν τοὺς περὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων φασὶν ἀναρρέοντα καὶ διαζῆν· ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχανον κλῆσιν καὶ οἱ οὐδενὸς λόγου δξιοι.* “A retailer of second-hand and second-rate information. HOLMES. The Athenians applied the same epithet to the Apostle Paul, *Acts xvii. 18*. — *περιτριψμα ἀγορᾶς*, a *hack of the market*; this term answers very nearly to our *police-court* *pettifogger*. — *ὅλεθρος*: the subst. used as an adj.; *a wretch of a clerk*. Cf. *ἀνθρώπους ὀλέθρους*, Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, § 202;

δλέθρου Μακεδόνος, *Phil.*, III. 31. Aesch. had been at one time the clerk of some of the petty magistrates. Cf. § 261. — ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ: Cf. note on ἑτραγῳδει, § 13.

§ 128. κάθαρμα, scum, offscouring (fr. καθαίρειν). — ἢς τῶν...οὐδέν, when no one of those who have really enjoyed it (*ἥς*) would use any such expression concerning himself. The relat. clause *ἥς...τετυχηκότων* performs the function of connecting this and the preceding sentence. — κἄν ἔτέρου λέγοντος: give the equivalent conditional clause in Greek to correspond to ἐρυθράστειν. — τοῖς...ἀπολευφθεῖσι, to those destitute of it (sc. παιδείας). — ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, through stupidity; aus Blödsinn, Jacobs; to be joined w. προσποιούμενοι. They are simpletons who suppose that they can pass for educated men by simply *making a pretence* to education. — τὸ...πολεῖν...τὸ...δοκεῖν, subj. of περίεστιν. Transl.: there results that they cause those who hear to be in pain, whenever they speak, (but) not that they appear to be such persons (as they pretend). *τοιούτους* is attracted fr. the accus. in the predicate w. *εἶναι* to agree w. προσποιούμενοι. Cf. συκοφάντη, § 266.

§ 129. τοῦ = τίνος: how governed? — Τρόμης: the Schol. thinks the father of Aesch. may have had the position of assistant in the school of Elpias. In de F. L., § 249, Dem. speaks of Tromes as himself διδάσκων γράμματα. Cf. A. Schaeff. I. p. 191. — χοινικας...ξύλον, stocks, leg-irons, ...wooden collar. These were instruments of torture to punish refractory slaves. — μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις, by means of midday prostitutions. “Significatur igitur imprimis flagitiosa vita, quae ne noctis quidem tenebris se occultaret.” Diss. In regard to these reproachful personalities we remark substantially w. Schaeff. I. p. 197 ff.: from Dem. *de F. L.*, §§ 200, 249, 281, it appears that the mother of Aesch. was of Athenian birth, and a priestess, but guilty of gross conduct in the discharge of her priestly office. The representation, therefore, of Dem. is, to say the least, exaggerated. These disgusting personalities have much the same character as the personal satire of comedy. To arrive at the degree of their truthfulness we must sift them of all intentional exaggeration, and view them in somewhat the same light as the mockery and satire wh. Aristophanes heaped upon Cleon, Euripides, and Socrates. What we find therein to censure, we must charge to the account, not so much of the individual orator, as of the perverted taste that took delight in the utmost license of speech upon the bema no less than upon the stage. — πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ήρωι, near the hero Calamites, i. e. near his statue. Commentators have generally understood this as referring to the same locality designated in de F. L., § 249, as πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ήρωα τοῦ λατροῦ, and Voemel and Westermann have identified this *Hero-physician* with the Scythian named *Toxaris*, who is mentioned by Lucian, *Scyth.* I. This Toxaris, acc. to Lucian, lived in Athens as the friend of

Solon, was buried in the Ceramieus, and subsequently deified and worshipped as the “Stranger-physician,” in the belief that through advice given by his spirit the plague was stayed in Athens. The true explanation of Καλαμίτης (wh. has been made to mean by some *probe-man* or *surgeon*, by others *reed-man*, as the patron of flogging schoolmasters !) has been found, doubtless, by Professor Goodwin, whose interpretation we take from Vol. IV. Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1873. “His monument [sc. the physician’s] existed in a mutilated state in Lucian’s time, representing a Scythian *bouman* with a *strung bow* in one hand and a book in the other. Now καλαμίτης can mean *bouman* (or, more exactly, *arrow-man*), as κάλαμος very often means an *arrow of reed*. It will then be simply an equivalent for *Scythian*, and it will be remembered that the police of Athens were called both Σκύθαι and τοξόται.” This monument was a relic of antiquity even in the time of Dem., and he refers to it as marking a well-known locality. Recent discoveries seem to place it not far from the Theseum. — τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα, *the handsome puppet*. Acc. to Diss., a sarcastic allusion to the fine figure of Aesch., and to his repose of manner in speaking. Cf. *de F. L.*, § 255. — τριταγωνιστὴν : cf. §§ 209, 262, 265.

§ 130. ταῦτα, i. e. relating to his parentage. — οὐδὲ γάρ...ἀλλ’ καταράται : none of the various explanations of this sentence, wh. I give in the order of my preference, seems wholly satisfactory. (1) Join the sentence closely to ἔσσω : I disdain to speak more about his parentage, *for that was not his parentage to which he laid claim by a happy circumstance* (this circumstance is the manœuvre by wh. he became the child of apparently respectable Athenian citizens, and is described in ὅψε γάρ, κ. τ. ἐ., below), *but his family was such as the people curse*, i. e. slaves by descent, who had managed to creep into citizenship. The presumption is that such characters were included in the curse pronounced by the herald in opening the meeting of the Assembly. (2) Quite a large number of critics take ὁντινχεν as equivalent to τῶν τυχόντων and as masc., and read : *he did not spring from ordinary people, but from those, etc.* (3) V. understands ἡν̄ not of descent, but of *belonging to as a class*; *neque enim unus ex iis erat, quorum erat casu, sed ex iis*, etc. The sense, acc. to this view, is that while Aesch. was of low parentage by chance, he was of base and accursed companionship by choice. Cf. §§ 282, 297. (4) Diss. takes ὁν and οῖς as neuter and ἀβεβίωκεν as subj. of ἡν̄, and reads : *for his acts were not of an ordinary sort, but such as the people execrate.* — ὅψε γάρ ποτε, κ. τ. ἐ., *for it is quite recent — recent, do I say? nay, (μὲν οὖν) yesterday only or the day before.* — Τρόμητος, *Tromes* = *the trembler*, would be a fitting name for a slave; *Atrometus* = *the dauntless*, has a superior ring to it. — Γλαυκοθέαν : Apollonius says in the biography of Aesch. that his mother was named by

some Γλαυκής; add to this that Æsch. (*de F. L.*, § 78), speaks of his mother's brother as Γλαῦκος, and we may fairly infer that her real name was *Glaucis*, wh. was lengthened to do honor to the superior station of her son. So Lucian represents the old cobbler *Simon*, when he had become rich, lengthening his name to *Simonides*. — "Εμπουσάν was the name of a goblin wh. had the ability to assume all sorts of shapes. Aristoph. *Ran.*, 288 ff., describes this monster.

§ 131. ἐκ: "instead of; as coming out of one state into the other. The idiom is very common. Cf. Soph. *O. T.*, 454; *Antig.*, 1093, etc." HOLMES. — οὐχ ὅπως...ἀλλά, *not only not ... but*; without the usual *καὶ* after ἀλλά, as in Lys. 30. 26: οὐχ ὅπως ὑμῖν τῶν αὐτοῦ τι ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλά τῶν ὑμετέρων πολλὰ ἀφῆρηται. Cf. H. 1035 a; G. 1504; Cu. § 622. 4. — ἄρα, *forsooth*; ironical. Cf. § 22. Point out the antithesis between this and the next sentence. As in the opening of his speech the orator defended himself first against the attacks upon his private life, so here he has directed his attack first upon the private life of Æsch. Since he treats this topic afterward at greater length, it seems as if it were introduced here for the sake of giving unity and symmetry to the structure of the oration.

(b) §§ 132–323. I. §§ 132–139. THE SUSPICIOUS CONDUCT OF ÆSCHINES IN RELATION TO ANTIphon, TO PYTHON, AND TO ANAXINUS. ἀποψῆφισθέντα, *disfranchised*. In 346 b. c., a general examination (*διαψήφισις*) of the registries of citizens took place for the purpose of testing the validity of the claim to citizenship. Among many others, Antiphon was stricken from the list (*ἀποψῆφιξεσθαι*). In revenge for this disgrace he offered his services to Philip. — δν λαβόντος, κ. τ. ἐ.: the constr. of this sentence is very similar to ἡς τῶν μὲν, κ. τ. ἐ., in § 128. — ἀνευ ψηφίσματος, *without a warrant*. "An Athenian's house, like an Englishman's, appears to have been his castle wh. could not be entered without legal warrant for that purpose, wh. Dem. did not in this case possess." Wh. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 588.

§ 133. ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου: the famous court of Areopagus had the right in cases of extreme danger, such as conspiracies against the state, at least to order arrest and to institute legal examination. When Antiphon was discharged by the Assembly, the Areopagus arrested him again and delivered him up for trial to the Heliastic court. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 344. — ἐν οὐ δέοντι, *at an inopportune, ill-timed juncture*. — καὶ τὸ δικηγ, κ. τ. ἐ., *and slipping through the hands of justice, would have been sent out of the way by this fine-spoken gentleman*. — στρεβλώσαντες: torture was applied by the Athenians either for extorting testimony or as a means of punishment; to slaves without any preliminary legal process, but to citizens only on the special decree of the Assembly.

§ 134. **σύνδικον, advocate.** — ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ: the Athenians had long contended w. the Delians for the control of the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos. In 343 b. c. the Delians brought the affair for decision before the Amphictyonic council. The patriotic party at Athens, desiring greatly the election of an anti-Macedonian as advocate (since Philip had great influence in the council), contrived to transfer the election from Aesch. to Hyperides in the manner described. — προσέλεσθε: so read Dind., Bekk., Lipsius, after the conjecture of Wolff, contrary to the MSS. wh. have προείλεσθε. προσαιρεῖσθαι = to take to one's self in addition; hence, you had associated with you also that body (*κάκείνην*) in addition; i. e. the Senate and Assembly invited the Areopagus to co-operate with them; otherwise, the Areopagus would have had no right to rescind the vote by wh. Aesch. had been elected. προαιρεῖσθαι = to choose before or instead of; hence, you had selected it to act for you, i. e. delegated it. The chief difficulty of the latter reading lies in καὶ (in *κάκείνην*), wh. is then best joined w. what follows. — **Ὑπεριδή**: one of the ten Athenian orators, and a prominent anti-Macedonian leader. Persuaded by his much-lauded λόγος Δηλιακός (cf. Sauppe, II. 285 ff.), fragments of wh. only remain, the council decided in favor of the Athenians. — ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ: the most solemn method of voting was to place the ballots (*ψῆφοι*) upon the altar for consecration preparatory to depositing them. The earliest instance of this usage is found in Herod., VIII. 123: Διένεμον τὰς ψῆφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ.

§ 135. **μέλλοντος λέγειν** is the reading of Σ as corrected by a later hand (the original being partly erased), and of most MSS. V. and Dind. read λέγοντος, wh. Holmes takes as an *impf.* and strangely renders: *when he was going to speak.* The genit. absol. constr., st. τοῦτον μέλλοντα λέγειν obj. of ἀπήλασεν, gives more prominence to this clause. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, I. 4, 12; II. 24; Thuc., I. 114. — **οὐκοῦν**: the force of οὐκ and οὐν is clearly noticeable here: *when, therefore,...then it showed him to be, etc. (did it not?).*

§ 136. **"Ἐν μὲν, κ. τ. ἐ,** This one transaction, therefore, of this fine young fellow was of such a nature; similar of course, for why not? to those, etc. *ἐν* as opposed to *ἔτερον* below. — **νεανίου** refers not to age, for Aesch. was at this time more than 45 years old, but to the arrogance and violence of youth. — **Πύθωνα**: a noted orator who served in 343 b. c. as the advocate of Philip in an embassy to Athens, in relation to the maintenance of the peace of Philocrates. All the information we have concerning Python's speech on the subject before us is found in the oration on the Halonnesus (§§ 18–23). This oration was formerly attributed to Dem., but is now believed to have been written and delivered by Hegesippus, a coadjutor of

Dem. on this occasion. — πολλῷ ρέοντι, *in the full torrent of speech*. *ρέων* is often used of *speech*. So in Aristoph. *Eq.*, 526, 527; Hor., *Sat.*, I. 7, 28, has “*salso multoque fluenti*.”

§ 137. μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑστερον: *thereupon (relative time), later (absolute time)*. — Αναξίω: a Eubcean who came to Athens about 340 B. C., probably while the preparations for the expedition to Oreus were in progress (cf. § 79), ostensibly to make purchases for Olympias, the queen of Philip. Dem. pays no attention to the reproach of his rival: cf. Aesch. c. *Ctes.* §§ 223, 224. — μόνος μόνῳ: the skilful collocation of the words in this sentence brings out the sense very forcibly.

§ 138. καὶ γάρ: an instance of the frequent elliptical use of *kai*. — οὕτω πῶς, *somewhat as follows*. — ἔτι = *præterea*. — ὡν: attracted fr. the accus. into the case of *τούτων*. — ὑπηρετῶν...ἐπηρεάζων is an instance of play upon words of similar sound. — εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην, *these things are not treasured up by you for accurate remembrance*; the *eis* indicates the aim or object. — οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν δργὴν, *nor for proper resentment*. For the constr. cf. II. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. — ὑποσκελίζειν: a colloquial word. Deriv.? — ἀνταλλαττόμενοι, *bartering away in exchange for*. Where has Dem. spoken of this before? — διόπερ ῥᾶσν, κ. τ. ἐ: the same sentiment is expressed in a less vigorous way in *Phil.*, III., § 55: ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτους ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγοντιν.

§ 139. τὸ μὲν...συναγωνίζεσθαι is subj. of *δεινὸν (ἐστίν)* and has answering to it the sentence ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ, κ. τ. ἐ. — πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν refers to the renewal of hostilities w. Philip after the dissolution of the peace, in 340 B. C. — πῶς γάρ οὐ: parenthetical, as οὐ γάρ in § 136. — τὰ πλοῦα: cf. note § 73. — Χερρόνησος: cf. note § 80. — ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, *upon Attica*. Dem. alludes to the invasion of Loeris, 339 B. C., when Philip seized Elatea (cf. § 169); before this no direct march upon Attica had been attempted by Philip. — βάσκανος: in what other connections has this word been used? — ιαμβειογράφος, *writer of iambics*: a contemptuous allusion to Aesch. as a poetaster and playwright. The older Editt. read *ιαμβειοφάγος* = *iambic eater*, i. e. mouther of iambics, referring to his bad recitation of iambics as an actor; but w. this the word *βάσκανος* and the context (οὐδ' ἔστιν...ψήμυσμα) do not so well harmonize. Besides, V. has shown that *ιαμβειογράφος* is the true reading of Σ, and cites as corroborative testimony Aesch. c. *Timureh.*, § 136: περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὡν φασὶν οὗτοι με πεποιηκέναι, τὰ μὲν ὄμολογῶ, τὰ δ' ἔξαρνοῦμαι μὴ τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον δὺν οὗτοι διαφθειροῦντες παρέξονται. — ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι = *during the time allotted me*. Each party to a suit had a given portion of time allotted him, wh. was measured by the water-clock (*κλέψυδρα*, cf. Diet. Antiq.). To offer an opponent the opportunity to speak “*in one's water*” was to challenge all contradiction.

This phrase explains the joke at the sobriety of Dem., sc. that other men spoke by water, he composed by it. — **αὐτὸν**: subj. of some such word as **ἀρεῖσθαι** to be supplied and depending on **ἀνάγκη ἔστιν**. — **ἔχοντ'...ξητοῦντα**: the partic. have a strong causal force here. — **παρὰ ταῦθ'**, contrary to these. Is there any escape from the dilemma of the alternative here presented; if so, what?

II. §§ 140–159. THE PART WHICH AESCHINES PLAYED, AS THE HIRELING OF PHILIP, IN PROVOKING THE AMPHISIAN WAR. **ῶσπερ οὐδ'** **ἔγραφεν** looks back to **οὐδ'** **ἔστιν** **ψήφισμα οὐδέν** **Αἰσχίνη**, § 139. — **οὐ μὲν οὖν, ναу,** no one else had a chance to say anything. — **τὰ μὲν ἄλλα**: as contrasted w. **Ἐν δ'**. — **ἐπεξειργάσατο**: what is the force of **ἐπί** in composition? — **ἐπέθηκε τέλος**, gave the finishing stroke. — **τῶν Ἀμφισσέων = περὶ τῶν Α'**. So in Thuc., I. 140: **τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα**. — **τῶν Λοκρῶν**: the reverse order would be more natural: the Locrians (generic), sc. the Amphissians (specific). Amphissa belonged to the Ozolian Locrians. — **τὸ, this affair**, i. e. the one alluded to above in **Ἐν δ'**, κ. τ. ἐ. This demonstrative pronominal use of the article, belonging originally to the Epic dialect, is occasionally found in the prose as well as the poetry of the best Attic period. Cf. Plato *Phæd.*, 87 c; Soph. *Trachin.*, 1172. See Kühner's Gramm., § 247. 3. — **ἐκνίψῃ**, wash off. The metaphor is familiar to all languages:

"Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand?"

SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*, II. 2.

οὔτω is the emphatic word. However much you may say, that you will not accomplish.

§ 141. **καλ**, and especially. This solemn invocation, wh. reminds us of § 8, the orator justifies in the next paragraph. The divinity invoked is Apollo, because he is the one most directly concerned in the transactions that are now to be discussed. — **πατρῷος**: "The ancient Attic king Ion was called the son of the Pythian Apollo, probably in consequence of the Ionians having adopted the worship of that deity from the Dorians, and the Athenians had **πατρῷοι θυσίαι** at Delphi." Wh. But this opinion that the worship of Apollo was derived fr. the Dorians is now generally discredited; on the contrary, the appellation **πατρῷος** harmonizes w. the belief that the Apollo worship was fr. the first peculiar to the Ionians. — **εἰ...εἴ-ποιμι...εἴποιν**: a combination of two protases w. one apodosis (**ἐπεύχομαι**). Cf. G M T. 508, 509; H. 901 c. — **καλ τότ'**, and if I did speak it, right at the very moment when. — **πρὸς**, with a view to; st. for the sake of. — **ἀνόνητον με ποιῆσαι**, to render me destitute of the enjoyment of any good.

§ 142. **Τέ οὖν, κ. τ. ἐ.**, Why then have I made these so grave imprecations

and assurances? — δημοσίω, the archives. — ἔχων...εἰδὼς : strongly concessive. — ἐλάττων: minor quam ut conficeret. — ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, sc. in the acquittal of Aesch. on the famous trial (343 B. C.) for his violation of oath and neglect of duty as envoy to Philip concerning the peace. Cf. § 35.

§ 143. *τὸν...πόλεμον:* the circumstances that led to this war, sometimes called the “Third Sacred War,” are given in the subjoined extract from the speech of Aesch. In citing this passage there is omitted, as unimportant to the question at issue, the story how this Cirrhaean plain came to be consecrated (to wh. allusion is made by Dem. in the words λόγους εὐπροσώπους, § 149). The unusual and emphatic order of the words in this sentence must not escape notice. — **Ἐλάτειαν**: cf. note, § 152. — **δε** refers to Philip. — **εἰς ἄντρον**, *is the author alone and singly of all our greatest calamities; or, of greater calamities than any other one individual.* — **ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ**, wh. was held immediately after the return of Aesch. fr. his mission to the Amphictyonic council. — **πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν**: up to this time the war w. Philip had its theatre in and about the northern possessions of Athens; but now, when it was easy to foresee that Philip, who had usurped the place of Phocis in the Amphictyonic council, would be intrusted w. the leadership of a war waged under the auspices of this council, the warning cry **πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις** ought not to have sounded in vain. — **ἐκ παρακλήσεως**, *those seated together by preconcerted arrangement: lit. by summons. παράκλητος = Lat. *advocatus*.* The orator means the Macedonian clique wh. generally sat together in the popular Assembly whenever concerted action seemed desirable.

§ 144. **ὑπακούσατε** is used here in the sense of the simple *ἀκούειν*. — **ἐκωλύθητε**, sc. in the earlier deliberations, when Aesch. and his clique had everything their own way. Later, the opposition of Dem. was more effective. Cf. the account of Aesch. infra. In regard to the charge of Aesch. that Dem. procured the passage of his decree by the artifice described in the citation, Grote remarks: “There is nothing to confirm such insinuations; moreover Aesch., if he had still retained the public sentiment in his favor, could easily have baffled the tricks of his rival.” — **καλ...καλ...καλ**: correlated. — **δεινότης**: *callidus*, Schaef.: *craftiness*, Kenn.

§ 145. **ἥν...εἰ...ποιήσει**: what kind of a condit. sent.? Cf. G M T. 698; II. 937; G. 1502. 2; Cu. § 549. — **Θηβαῖος...Θετταλοῦς**: while the traditional hatred between the Thebans and Athenians continued unabated (cf. § 168), there had arisen on the other side an estrangement between the Thebans and Philip, of wh. the refusal of Thebes to participate in the measures against the Amphissians (cf. Aesch. § 128) was an expression. In this state of things, it was probable that Thebes would not only decline to join Philip in an expedition against Athens, but would even prevent his

army from passing through her territory ; and it was doubtful whether under such circumstances the Thessalians would follow him. Cf. A. Schaef., II. 505. — **τῶν ληστῶν**, *guerillas* : the reference is to private bands of marauders who by land and sea harassed the domain of Philip. — **τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας** : cf. note, § 44.

§ 146. **μήτε...μήτε**, st. *οὔτε...οὔτε*, because the partic. have a conditional force. — **ὅποιουσδήποθ'**, of *whatever sort they were* ; a point upon wh. he does not expatiate (*έω γὰρ τοῦτο γε*). — **αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει**, *to suffer ill from the very nature of the locality and the circumstances of each party*. The power of Philip lay in his land forces, that of Athens in her navy ; the way to Athens was obstructed over land by the Thebans, over the sea by the Athenians.

§ 147. **εἰ...συμπειθού...δν ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν**, *if then he should try to persuade to join (συν) ... he thought that no one would be likely to pay attention to him*. Notice the emphatic position of *τῆς ιδίας ἐνεκ' ἔχθρας*. **Δν προσέξειν** would regularly be **Δν προσέξου** in the finite form. The fut. opt. w. **δν** is so rare that its existence is denied by some grammarians. For this reason some critics propose either to omit **δν** or to change the text to **Δν προσέχειν**. But cf. G M T. 203, 208 ; Kühner's Gramm., § 260. 5 a ; Baümllein *de Modis*, pp. 295–297, 351. Undoubted instances of the fut. opt. w. **δν** are found in Lycurg. in *Leocr.*, § 15; Lys. *de cæde Erat.*, § 22 ; of the fut. infin. w. **δν** in Dem. *Leptin.*, § 35 ; Thuc., II. 80. — **ἐὰν...παρακρούσεσθα**, *but if in assuming the common pretexts of these he should be chosen leader, he hoped he would in part quite easily deceive them and in part persuade them*. The second of these two conditions (sc. *ἐὰν αἰρεθῆ*) expresses the more probable or nearer alternative, the one wh. was later actually fulfilled. Just below Dem. makes the same discrimination : *εἰ εἰσηγοῦτο τις* and **Δν Ἀθηναῖος ἦ**. — **τὰς...κοινὰς προφάσεις** : the same wh. are called **προφάσεις Ἀμφικτυονικὰς** in § 158, and relating to the supposed violation of the rights of the Delphic god by the Amphissians and Athenians. — **τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι** : dat. com. modi. — **περὶ** = *in*, denoting place and time. So **περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον**, § 96. — **Πιλαῖαν** : the *Congress* of the Amphictyons bore this name, as the delegates that of *πιλάγοραι* (§ 149), from the circumstance that it assembled twice each year, in autumn and in spring, in the temple of Demeter at *Thermopylæ*. It was formerly supposed that the spring session was held at Delphi, but the recently discovered funeral oration of Hyperides (§ 16), acc. to Westermann, has confirmed the conjecture of those critics who believe that the delegates first assembled at Thermopylæ to perform their ancient rites, and then adjourned to Delphi to transact other business. — **εἰς ταῦθ', for these things, i. e. to settle these difficulties**.

§ 148. **ἱερομνημόνων** : deriv.? The difference betw. the Hieromnemons

and Pylagoræ is not wholly clear ; but from the representation of Æsch., § 115, it appears that besides the general meetings in wh. both participated, there were sessions of a more special character attended alone by the Hieromnemons ; and that these alone were the actual official members of the Council and had the right to offer proposals and to pass decrees, while the Pylagoræ seem to have acted merely as councillors, who, whenever occasion demanded, were to plead for the particular interests of their respective states. — *ἐκείνου* : spoken from the standpoint of the speaker ; cf. §§ 218, 236. — *ὑπόψεσθαι* : the critical student will observe that this apodosis in oratio recta would differ fr. *Δν προσέξειν* above. — *εύπόρως λήστειν*, *it* (i. e. *τὸ πρᾶγμα = his scheme*) *would easily escape detection*.

§ 149. **φυλάττοντος** : Schaefer remarks that we might expect *φυλαττομένον* = *guarding against*, but the idea of *guarding against* anything involves that of *being watchful* lest it may happen ; hence the middle and active of this verb are frequently interchanged. — *προβληθεῖς, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *having been nominated and three or four having held up their hands for him, he was declared elected*. The result of a vote was immediately declared by the presiding officer. The method of procedure here described is not entirely unknown in modern political assemblies. — *ἐπέραινεν, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *he accomplished the ends for which he had been hired*. Whether this charge of Dem. be true or not, it is certain that if Æsch. had been acting as the hireling of Philip, he could have done nothing so favorable to the ambition of Philip and so fatal to the freedom of Greece, as to stir up this new Amphicytonic war. — *δθεν, how and whence*, going back and tracing the history from its origin. — *ἡ Κιρραῖα χώρα* : the Cirrhaean territory is a fertile plain extending from the foot of Mt. Parnassus to the Corinthian Gulf. How it came to be set apart to the service of the Delphic sanctuary is familiar to all who know the history of the first Sacred War, b. c. 595. — *ἀπέιρους λόγων, inexpressive in speech-making*, in contrast w. the Pylagoræ. “The Hieromnemons were chosen, in Athens at least, from the whole body of people, without distinction of person.” W.

§ 150. *περιελθεῖν*, i. e. *circuire ad fines determinando*. Diss. — *σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν, as belonging to themselves*. — *τῆς... χώρας* : pred. partit. genit. — *οὐδεμίαν δίκην... ἐπαγόντων, although the Locrians were bringing no suit against us, nor those charges which now this man pretends*. Dem. does not directly contradict the narrative of Æsch. ; his argument is this : no summons had been served by the Locrians on Athens, and without such summons no prosecution could legally be carried on ; hence there were still many steps to be taken before final judgment could be pronounced against Athens ; Æsch. ought, therefore, to have tempered his zeal w. a little good sense, to say nothing more. The account of Æsch. gives no explanation of

the most vital point in the whole affair, the appointment of Philip to conduct the war. Cf. Grote, XC.; A. Schaef., II., p. 498 ff. — **τελέσασθαι**, to bring to an issue (*τέλος*). — **ἀπὸ πολας ἀρχῆς**, from what cause? *ἀρχή* is used in the Homeric sense of *αἰτία*. V. cites in confirmation of this rendering a Schol. wh. explains *ἄπαξ ἐκ τούτων* in the next paragraph by *ἀπὸ μᾶς ἀρχῆς = αἰτίας μᾶς*. Some take *ἀρχή* to mean here *magistracy*, and read under the auspices of what *magistracy*? But W. remarks that this idea is implied in the preceding *τις...ἐκλήτευσεν*. Inferior MSS. read *ἐπὶ πολας ἀρχῆς*, wh. is made to mean: in what archonship? But this idea the Greek would express by *ἐπὶ τίνος ἀρχοντος*. — **ταύτη κατεχρῶ**, you have made use of this as an empty and false pretext. The omission of the art. makes *ταύτη* the subj. and *προφάσει* the predicate of the clause. Cf. H. 674; Kühner's Larger Gramm., § 246. 3, Rem. 1.

§ 151. **μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν**, well-nigh shot them all down. Cf. the account of Æsch., § 123. — *ἄπαξ ἐκ τούτων*, once for all from these proceedings. — **Κόττυφος**: Æsch., § 128, tells us all we know about him. — *οἱ μὲν*, sc. the Athenians and the Thebans, as we learn fr. the account of Æsch. — *eis* denotes the *terminus ad quem*. They had been expecting to do this all along, and were planning it for the next meeting. — **τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν Πυλαῖαν**: the next regular meeting of the Amphictyonic council. Grote says that the first motion raised by Æsch. against the Amphissians occurred in the spring meeting (he says at *Delphi*, but see note on *Πυλαῖαν*, § 147); next there was held the special meeting wh. elected Cottynthus to the leadership; after this, in September, 339 b. c., came the regular autumnal meeting, wh. is referred to here. — **ἐπὶ τὸν Φ. ἡγεμόνα ἤγον**, lit. they brought affairs (sc. τὰ πράγματα) to Philip as leader. So in *Phil.*, III., § 57: *οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἤγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Φιλιππον*. — **οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι, κ. τ. ἐ.**, those of the Thessalians and those (lit. of those) in the rest of the states who had been prepared (i. e. bought) and were veteran traitors.

§ 152. **εἰσφέρειν**, to contribute a special tax. — **ζημιοῦν**, to punish by fine. — **ἥρεθη γάρ**: *γάρ* implies an ellipsis in the thought, somewhat like this: but what is the use of wasting many words upon this point; for you know the result, and that is enough. — **εὐθέως**: Philip at once set about collecting a force and preparing for his campaign in Hellas. But Dem. neglects to mention (probably w. the intention of making his narrative the more striking and effective) that Philip first marched against Amphissa, and, after destroying it and defeating the combined forces of the Locrians and Athenians, turned back unexpectedly towards Elatea. Cf. A. Schaef., II., p. 513 ff. — **ἔρρωσθαι φράσας**, having bidden a long adieu. This sarcastic use of this phrase is quite common. Cf. de F. L., § 248: *ἔρρωσθαι φράσας τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ*. — **Ἐλάτειαν**: the largest town of Phocis, situated not far fr. the

frontier of the Epicnemidian Locrians, and important as the key to the mountain passes that give approach to and from Thessaly. It had been destroyed, in common w. the other Phocian towns, at the close of the Sacred War, 346 b. c. Æsch., § 140, states that now Philip fortified it. — How much consternation this movement of Philip excited at Athens, we shall presently hear.

§ 153. ὥσπερ χειμάρρους: the student must have already noticed the sparing use Dem. makes of figures of speech. For Quintilian's criticism of his style and comparison of him w. Cicero, cf. *Institutes of Oratory*, IX., ch. I., § 40; X., ch. I., §§ 105–108; XII., ch. X., § 23. — τὸ γ' ἔξαλφνης, for the moment at least (though not ultimately). — καλ...καλ, and...also.

§ 156. ὑπήκοον, refused to comply, either to join him in attacking the Athenians, or permitting him free transit through their borders. — τοὺς... συμμάχους: the Areadians, Eleans, Messenians, and Argives. — τὸ πράττειν: exegesis of πρόφασιν. This use of πρόφασιν for the true reason is rare and scarcely recognized in the lexicons. It is often opposed to ἀληθές (πρόφασιν μὲν...τὸ ἀληθές δέ), and is used just below to denote the pretexts alleged by Philip and presented by Æsch. TYLER. Cf. § 225, where ψευδεῖς is added to distinguish fr. ἀληθεῖς, and Thuc. I. 23, 6. — δόξαντα, measures resolved upon by the Amphictyons. — ἀφορμὰς: deriv.? Occasions, opportunities for acting, w. the idea of secrecy or dishonesty.

§ 158. φεύγει...καταφεύγει: Diss. remarks that these verbs are used together by way of sarcasm. — περιώντες: in allusion to the notorious habit of the Athenians of walking indolently about and hearing and discussing news and polities. Cf. κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, § 323. — ύψος, sc. Philip.

§ 159. δν...οὐκ ἀν δκνήσαιμι, κ. τ. ἐ, whom, were one without reserve to speak the truth, I for my part should not hesitate to call the ruinous cause of all the losses that have followed. — τόπων, districts: more general in meaning than πόλεων. Wh. understands it to mean forts = χωρία. — ὁ γὰρ... παρασχών, οὗτος, κ. τ. ἐ, for he who furnishes the seed, he is responsible for the harvest of evils. Cicero appears to have imitated this passage in *Philip.*, II., c. 22: "ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti." — δν: the relative is taken out of its clause and placed first to serve as a connective; cf. ἡς τῶν μὲν τετυχηκότων, § 128; furthermore, δν is the obj. of ἀπεστράφητε, the accus. retained after the passive without a prep. Cf. II. 724 a; G. 1239; Cu. § 398. Cf. Soph. *Ed. Col.*, 1272. Render: from whom that you did not turn away in abhorrence as soon as ever you saw him, surprises me. — πρὸ, between you and the truth; lit. before the truth, hiding it from you as by a veil.

III. §§ 160–247. THE PART DEMOSTHENES PLAYED IN DEFENDING HIS COUNTRY AGAINST THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AMPHISSIAN WAR, BY BRINGING ABOUT THE ALLIANCE WITH THEBES. Συμβέβηκε: as something that is perfectly natural. — τὰ ἔργα...τοὺς λόγους, *the reality...the account.* So Thuc., I. 22: καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγων ἔκαστοι, τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων. — αὐτῶν: cf. note on τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων δόγματα, § 140.

§ 161. ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων, *under the influence of those favoring the interests of Philip.* So in § 177: φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα = *favoring your interests.* — ἐκατέροις...ἀμφοτέροις: the former denotes each of the two (Thebes and Athens) in their *separate* interests; the latter the two together in their *joint* interests. — διὰ μὲν...δεόμενον: the relative sentence preceding its antecedent τὸ...ἔτιν *awakeus expectation on the part of the hearer.* — τὸ προσκρούειν, *and for collision with one another.* A strong word; lit. *to dash or strike against.* In §§ 19, 163 the orator uses the compound συγκρούειν = *to strike together;* in § 198, ἀντικρούειν = *to strike back,* hence *to turn out badly.* — τοῦτο sums up the whole thought; often so used.

§ 162. Ἀριστοφόντα...Εύβουλον: cf. § 70. — πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φίλιαν, *to effect this alliance.* — βουλομένους...διμογγωμονούντας are supplementary after εἰδὼς, while ἀντιλέγοντας is concessive: *although often contradicting each other (sc. οἱ αὐτοῖς) in regard to other matters, upon this were always agreed.* — οὓς...παρηκολούθεις: *Aesch. is said to have been secretary to them.* The partic. κολακεύων and κατηγορῶν contain the important idea. — κίναδος: this word has been rendered *base wretch, vile animal, scandal to humanity, crafty creature, monster, sly fox, reptile.* I prefer the last as most in harmony w. the idea of a sneaking, false character that fawns upon those whom it is ready to betray. — δοκιμασάντων, *sanctioned.*

§ 163. ἐκεῖστε, i. e. to his statement interrupted in § 153. — διὶ to be joined w. συνέβη. — συμπεραναμένων, κ. τ. ἐ., *and because the rest of his coadjutors had joined (συν) in developing our hostility with Thebes.* The genit. absol. expresses cause or reason here. — οὐπερ, *for which very purpose;* περ indicates the closeness or exactness of the relation. — προεξανέστημεν...ἀναλαβεῖν, *and had we not aroused ourselves a little beforehand (i. e. before Philip's plans were matured), we should not have been able to gain them over to our side.* ἀναλαβεῖν is generally taken in the sense of *to recover or retrieve.* But what is it fr. wh. they could not have retrieved themselves? Some say, *from their enmity;* but this makes poor sense. Others say, *they could not have recovered their position;* but this seems too vague. Dem. wishes to say this: *our only hope of successfully resisting Philip lay in a union w. the Thebans;* but this hope would be utterly destroyed, if feelings

of hostility were allowed to exist much longer. For this sense of *ἀναλαβεῖν* cf. Dimarch c. *Dem.*, § 28; Aristoph. *Equit.*, 682. — *τὴν ἔχθραν*: so reads Σ; inferior MSS. have *τὸ πρᾶγμα*. Our reading appears to favor the interpretation of *ἀναλαβεῖν* just given.

§ 168. **διὰ τούτων**, i. e. Æsch. and his accomplices. — *ἐπαρθεὶς... τὰς ἀποκρίσεις*, *led on by these decrees and by the responses*. Wh. wonders how Philip could have been encouraged to make his attack on Elatea by these *ἀποκρίσεις* inserted in the text, wh. profess to be written by himself. We suspect that Westermann is right in conjecturing that Dem. alludes to the correspondence then going on between Athens and Thebes, wh. was probably not altogether in a spirit of friendly reconciliation, and of wh. Philip was doubtless well informed. — *ὡς οὐδ' ἀν, κ. τ. ἐ,* *as though, come what might, we and the Thebans would never again co-operate.* — *συμπνευσάντων ἀν = συμπνεύσαντο ἀν*, cf. G M T. 215; H. 987; G. 1308. 2; Cu. § 595. For the repetition of *ἄν* cf. G M T. 223, 224; G. 1312; K. § 261. 3; Madv. G. S. § 139 b. What gramm. objection is there to the form *συμπνευσόντων* wh. is found in the best MSS.?

§ 169. **γὰρ** introduces the narration, as we use *now* in Engl. No passage in the oration has been more lauded, and more deservedly so, than this graphic and beautiful desription. Cf. Longinus. It is interesting to read and compare the account of this event given by Diodorus, XVI. 84. — **Ἐσπέρα**: the order of the sentence emphasizes the fact that this announcement was made in the *evening*. — **πρυτάνεις**: the intelligence would naturally first come to them from their official position. — *ὡς*: cf. H. 930, 1054d; G. 1476; Cu. §§ 632 d, 526 b. — **μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες**: the prytanes took their meals in the *θέλος*, a building adjoining the Senate room, at the expense of the state. The principal meal (*δεῖπνον*) w. the Greeks was at evening. — **τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν**: cf. note on § 44. — *ἔξειργον*, *drove the hucksters out of their booths*, for the purpose of clearing the Agora preparatory to convening the Assembly. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 21 ff. The descriptive character of the narration is strengthened by the use of the impf. in this and the following verbs. — **τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν**, *set on fire their sheds.* **τὰ γέρρα**, originally used of wicker-work, later came to signify any kind of covering or roofing. As to the object of this proceeding commentators vacillate between two opinions: (1) in order to clear the space of the Agora with all possible despatch; (2) to serve as a signal of alarm wh. was to summon the people fr. the rural districts into the city. Objection is made to (1) that this act was unnecessary, since there were numerous slaves who could remove these sheds in ample season before the next morning; to (2) that the situation of the Agora was not a suitable one for giving signals. Still, on the whole, (2) seems the more probable theory: first, because no

other step seems to have been taken to call the rural population into the city; second, because there was after all no empty square so large and suitable as the Agora for giving such a signal. — τοὺς στρατηγὸν : these had to summon the extraordinary session of the Assembly. Cf. ψήφισμα, § 37 ; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 107. — ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, at daybreak. But there was nothing unusual in this, as we learn fr. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 20 ; *Eccles.*, 312, 377. — χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι is the usual form of expression to denote (*χρηματίσαι*) the *discussion* and *deliberation* of any proposal and (*προβουλεῦσαι*) the *adoption* of a resolution or bill to be brought before the ἐκκλησία. — ἄνω καθῆτο : the Assembly was held at that time in the Pnyx, wh. was located on a hill overlooking the Agora. Hence ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, I., §§ 9, 20.

§ 170. ὡς : temporal. — ἥλθεν, sc. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. — ἀπήγγειλαν : probably through the ἐπιστάτης as chairman. — τὸν ἡκοντα παρήγαγον, and they had introduced the messenger. — ἤρωτα, kept asking. — τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται is the ordinary formula for opening the business of the meeting. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 45. — παρήγει, i. e. ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. — ρητόρων : the Greek rhetors were at this time a class of professional politicians and public speakers. The orator emphasizes the point that all those men were present in this Assembly who were wont to be foremost in giving counsel. — καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς, κ. τ. ἐ., and although the common voice of the fatherland was summoning some one to speak in behalf of her welfare. Many Editt. read καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ, wh. has excellent MS. authority. For the omission of the article w. πατρίδος, cf. § 242.

§ 171. τὸ βῆμα : the bema was the tribune fr. wh. the Athenian orators addressed the people. As seen to-day among the ruins of Athens, it is a solid cube of stone, some 10 feet in height, having a surface once square and smooth, but now somewhat irregular; it is surrounded at the bottom on three sides by stone steps or seats. — οἵδ' θτι : parenthetic and without any influence on the construction; so frequently. Cf. § 293; *Phil.*, II., § 29; Soph. *Antig.*, 276. — οἱ τριακόσιοι : cf. note on the trierarchal system, § 102. — τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, sc. δυτα, and if those who were both (sc. παρελθεῖν ἔδει). ἀμφότερα ταῦτα is a predic. accus., and simply anticipates the καὶ...καὶ following. — μετὰ ταῦτα, i. e. after Chæronea, when the citizens made the greatest personal sacrifices to repair their walls and put their city in a better state of defence against Philip. Cf. §§ 248, 312.

§ 172. ἐκεῖνος...ἐκεῖνῃ : very emphatic; *that (memorable) occasion.* — παρηκολουθηκότα, who had closely followed up. — οὐδὲν...κιμελλεν, be any the more likely; i. e. for all his wealth and patriotism.

§ 173. ἐφάνην...ἐγώ, *I then appeared to be this one* (i. e. δν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει)

upon that day. The unusual order of the sentence makes *ἐγώ* very emphatic. What is to be grammatically supplied in the predicate after *ἔφαντη?* — *τὴν... τάξιν*, *I did not desert the post of patriotism in the hour of danger.* Cf. § 138: *τὴν ἐλόμενον τάξιν*; Dem. *Olynth.*, III. § 36: *παραχωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως.* — **πολιτείας**, *you will be much more familiar with the entire conduct of affairs for the future;* i. e. more familiar w. the principles of my policy as applied to the events that remain to be considered, than you otherwise would be. Some scholars prefer to make *τὰ λοιπὰ* limit *πολιτείας*; w. this constr. the sense is not materially altered. With this life-like and masterly description the student may profitably compare Webster's graphic account, in the trial of the Knapps, of the murder of their victim.

§ 174. **ὅτι**: merely to introduce the citation, and not to be translated. What now follows is all we know of the masterly speech Dem. delivered on this occasion. This brief summary is itself an eloquent testimony to the wisdom and magnanimity of the Athenian statesman. First, Dem. shows the advantage and necessity of an alliance w. Thebes; next, what measures are to be taken to secure this alliance. — *ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θ....Φ.*, *as though the Thebans were in favor of Philip.* *ὑπάρχειν τινί* = *to be in support* (*ὑπό*) *or in favor of any one*, a meaning not given by L. and Se. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 54: *τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι*; § 118: *ὑπάρξων ἔκεινω.* — **ἡκούομεν... δόντα**: how different fr. *ἡκούομεν εἰναι?* *αὐτὸν δόντα*, aecus. w. *ἀκούω* as the thing heard. — *ἴν' ἔτοιμα, κ. τ. ἐ*: a general expression for *that he may bring the Thebans over to his side.*

§ 175. **ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται**, *all* (those embraced in the category of *ἢ...ἢ*) *he has made friendly to himself.* The orator's point is that Ph. has already exhausted his opportunities in Thebes. — **δεῖξας**, *by showing a military force in the vicinity.* — **ἐπάραι, ποιῆσαι, καταπλήξαι**: these infinitives depend on *βούλεται*, the force of wh. continues. — *ἴν' ἡ συγχωρήσωσι*: expresses the ultimate purpose or aim of what precedes. *In order that they may either yield through fear what now they are not willing (to yield), or may be compelled by force.*

§ 176. **εἰ τι δύσκολον** = *ὅσα δύσκολα, whatever is offensive*; as e. g. what is referred to in § 96. — **εἶτα**, *in the next place*; without the *δέ* as correl. of *μέν*. Cf. *ἔπειτα*, § 1. In the next paragraph we find the same omission of *δέ*. — **μὴ... ηλθωσιν**: for the negat. and use of mode cf. G M T. 365; II. 887; G. 1378; Cu. § 533. — **αὐτῷ**, *those now opposed to him having received him.* Reiske conjectured *αὐτόν* as obj. of *προσδεξαμένων* st. *αὐτῷ*, on the ground that the pronoun seems more essential in connection w. this than w. the other partic.; but in § 162 we have *οὐς* as obj. of *κολακεύων* st. *οὐς* w. *παρηκολούθεις*. — **φιλιππισάντων**: a word coined probably by Dem. So Herod. and Thuc. used the verb *Μηδίζειν* in the account of the relations

of Persia and Greece. — ἀμφότεροι, i. e. Philip and the Thebans. — πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν...γένησθε, and ye may be inclined to deliberate, instead of to dispute concerning what I may say. — δόξειν : Rauchenstein conjectures ξεῖν = shall be able (cf. § 172), instead of δόξειν, as the orator would not say shall seem to speak; but by supplying ὥμην this objection vanishes. — ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει : the same order of partie. and subst. is found in §§ 190, 197, 220; a different order in §§ 179, 188. Which is the more regular?

§ 177. τι οὖν φῆμι δεῖν : Diss. notes how skilfully the orator excites attention in beginning the second part of this speech w. this inquiry. — μεταθέσθαι : used absolutely, = to turn about. — τῶν δεινῶν : gen. w. ἔγγυτέρω. — προτέροις : as a predicate; the peril is theirs first. — Ἐλευσίναδε : this route would be over the "Sacred Way" to Eleusis (about 12 miles fr. Athens), thence to Thebes in a northwesterly direction across Mt. Cithaeron. A more direct way to Thebes led through Acharnæ and Phyle; but this was not so practicable for a large army, nor did it offer any large plain, such as the Eleusinian, for the massing of a large force, in case of an attack. — τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, those who have the requisite age for military service. This designation applies only to the heavy-armed troops; the cavalry, being a branch of service of later origin, is named separately. The military age was from 18 to 60. — ἐξ ἵσου, sc. as to the partisans of Philip. — τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι, the boldness to speak freely. — οὕτω...ὑπάρχεθ', so to those who wish...you stand ready to render assistance.

§ 178. κυρίους, and to give them, together with the generals, absolute control both of the time to be fixed upon for going thither (i. e. to Thebes) and of the expedition. — τούτῳ...τὸν νοῦν, to this give most careful attention, I pray you. μοι is an ethical dative; cf. H. 770; G. 1171; Cu. § 433. — αἰσχρός : it would be dishonorable to take such advantage of their helplessness. — ἐν τοῖς ἑσχάτοις : some MSS. add κινδύνοις; but we can say: in extremities. — ἡμῶν...προορωμένων: on the principle that those who are somewhat removed fr. danger are calmer and clearer in their judgment than those who are in the midst of it. — καὶ...καὶ, both...and; embracing the apodosis. — προσχήματος: the pretext was to give aid to the oppressed Thebans. — ἐδύ δ'...ἄν : the latter condit. clause is special and subordinate to the former, wh. is more general. (cf. εἰ μὲν...εἰ and εἰ δὲ...εἰ in § 217. — ἡμῖν : dat. agent. The words that Dem. here puts, so to say, into the mouth of the envoys, are lauded by Dionysius in his *Art. Rhetor.*, IX., § 9, for their appropriate (*εὐπρέπειαν*) character.

§ 179. οὐκ εἶπον...οὐκ ἔγραψα, κ. τ. ἐ. : the antithetic force of μέν...δέ and the peculiar use of the negat. οὐκ and οὐδέ, make an exact translation of this much-praised example of climax (cf. Quint. *Inst. Orat.*, IX., Chap. III., § 55) quite impossible. An approximation to the original may be made thus:

I did not say these things and fail to propose them ; I did not propose them and fail to go on an embassy, etc. Lord B. suggests these renderings : (1) by a double negation, thus : *I did not say these things and not propose* ; (2) by the use of *without* in the second clause ; (3) *not only did I say these things, but I propounded a decree, etc.* — **διεξήλθον**, *I carried the affair through* (*διά*). — **φέρε** : the orator improves the pause, while the clerk is preparing to read the document, by making personal remarks more or less closely connected w. the point under consideration. So in §§ 212, 219.

§ 180. **θῶ**, *represent, make out to be.* What use of subjunct. ? Cf. G M T. 287; H. 866. 3 ; G. 1358 ; Cu. § 511. — **Βάτταλον** : the origin and meaning of this nickname are in doubt. Dem. claims that it was a pet name given him by his nurse ; but Æsch. c. *Timarch.*, § 126, ridicules this claim, and says in *de F. L.*, § 99 : *ἐν παισὶ μὲν γὰρ ὡν ἐκλήθη δι’ αἰσχροιργίαν τινὰ καὶ κιναιδῖαν Βάτταλος.* The Schol. renders it by *profligate, effeminate*, and derives it variously : (1) from the name of a flute-player or poet, notorious for his effeminacy ; (2) from the sickly and weak condition of Dem. body ; (3) as a term of contempt borrowed from an instrument used by flute-players for beating time, and called *ὑποπόδιον* or *βάτταλος*. Recent scholars connect it w. *βάττος*, *βατταρίζω*, and make it mean *stammerer, stutterer*, in allusion to the orator's supposed defect in utterance. — **Κρεσφόντην...Κρέοντα...Οινόμαον** : these were parts that fell to the *τριταγωνιστῆς*. Cf. § 129. The first-named character was the third rôle in a play of Euripides of the same name ; the second is the well-known tyrant in the *Antigone* of Sophocles ; the third was a subordinate character in a play of Sophocles bearing this name. — **ἐν Κολλυτῷ**, *whom once in Collytus you wretchedly murdered.* Collytus was one of the country demes in wh. the rural Dionysia were celebrated. In the anonymous biography of Æsch., the story is told that Æsch., in the rôle of Enomaus, on a certain occasion tripped and fell on the stage while pursuing Pelops. — **τότε** : very emphatic. — **ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἔγώ** : in the skilful arrangement of the words each contrasted term occupies relatively a reversed position, except that *σοῦ* comes last for the sake of emphasis.

§ 188. **Αὕτη...πρώτη**, *This was the beginning and first step towards a settlement of our difficulties with Thebes.* **κατάστασις** = *constitutio rerum antea turbatarum.* Diss. — **τὰ πρὸ τούτων**, *as regards previous affairs.* — **ὑπὸ τούτων**, i. e. Æsch. and his coadjutors. — **ώστερ νέφος** : Larned sums up the merits of this sentence thus : (1) The figure is unexpected ; the sentence would be complete if it closed w. *ἔποιησεν*. (2) It is perfectly natural ; it expresses the thought more truthfully than any literal language. (3) The whole sentence is worded as simply and concisely as possible.

(4) The ancient critics noticed a perfect rhythm in the sentence ; to the ear of Longinus the effect would have been much marred, he informs us, by the substitution of ὡς or ὠσπερελ for ὠσπερ. — νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν : as opposed to τότε δεῖξαι. Why the change in the tense of the infin.?

§ 189. ὁ γάρ σύμβουλος, κ. τ. ἐ, for the statesman and the demagogue. In his speech against *Midias*, § 189, the orator states the distinction between the σύμβουλος and the ρήτωρ. The συκοφάντης (cf. note § 112) is further characterized in § 242. — τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, to his followers, i. e. those who have accepted his policy and accordingly hold him *responsible*. — τῷ καιρῷ, opportunity, i. e. the seasonable time or opportune moment for any action. — τῷ βουλομένῳ refers to any one who may choose to call a political leader to an account for the results of his policy. — σιγήσας ..έδει : in this general definition we should expect σιγῶν...δεῖ ; the past tense is used specially w. an eye to *Aesch.*

§ 190. διπέρ εἶπον, sc. in § 188 : ην μὲν...ἐπιτιμᾶν. — ἐκεῖνος, in the predicate and in sharp contrast w. νῦν below ; that was the occasion, therefore. — ἔγώ...ποιοῦμαι, but I go so far as to say. — ὥστε...όμολογῶ, that I confess myself guilty. What would be the difference in the thought if the orator had said ὥστε ὄμολογεῖν ? Cf. G M T. 582-584 ; H. 927, 953 ; G. 1449-1451 ; Cu. § 565, Obs. 1. — ἔωρακεν = now knows of ; the perfect often represents the state or condition resulting fr. the action of the verb. — πραχθέν : what use of the partic.? Give the Greek clause to correspond to συνήργεκεν ἀν. Cf. a similar constr., § 30. — εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι, κ. τ. ἐ. : cf. § 141 and note. — καὶ τήμερον, yea, even to-day. — τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων : expressed above by δεῖξαι τι...τι...ένην.

§ 191. αἰτιᾶσθαι, κ. τ. ἐ., this sarcastic inquiry is explained by βασκάνει, § 189. — τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι, κ. τ. ἐ., who is willing to guarantee the future? — τότε, sc. έδειξα. — ἀλλὰ, yet, introducing the apodosis. — εὐπορεῖν, with which I ought to have furnished myself. The comm. reading is εὐρεῖν. — τῇ πόλει : join w. συμφέρων. Some call it dat. incommod. w. the verb. — πρᾶξις, enterprise, “practical measure,” “plan.” — μᾶλλον, i. e. than those to wh. he did lead them.

§ 192. τάξιν, the office. In the present and in the future the statesman is required to be at his post discharging his duty. — τότε : when the negotiations w. Thebes were in progress. — προαίρεσίν, the aim ; that wh. one sets before himself as his chosen object. — μὴ...συκοφάντει, do not rail at the results. — ὡς ἀν...βουληθῆ : whatever it may be, as the use of ἀν w. subjunctive indicates. — αὐτή, as viewed by itself. — διάνοιαν, the intention ; subjective, while προαίρεσις is objective.

§ 193. τῇ μάχῃ, i. e. Chæronea. Dat. of respect ; the more usual reading is τὴν μάχην. — οὐκ ἐμοί : it is not essential that ἐν be repeated, as is

done in the reading of many Editt. — ὅσα ..λογισμὸν, *as many things as are possible in human calculation.* — καὶ δικαῖως, κ. τ. ἐ.: the force of the preceding negative is retained here. — φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, *laboriously beyond my power.* We speak of *superhuman effort.* — τότ' ἥδη : *tum demum;* but not before.

§ 194. σκηπτὸς, *but if the tornado that ensued.* Dem. compared what happens to a *torrent* (*χειμάρρους*) in § 153, and in § 214 to a *deluge* (*κατακλυσμὸν*). — μεῖζων γέγονε, *has proved too strong for.* — τί χρὴ ποιεῖν: the answer to the inquiry is omitted as being self-evident. Schaeff. states it thus: *to keep still and not to accuse;* perhaps it is better put in the form of a question: *to find fault?* Then follows the ellipsis: *that would be unreasonable; just as it would be, if, etc., ὥσπερ ἀν (εἴη).* Cf. § 243. — εἰ...ναύκληρον: originally the captain was at the same time the owner of the ship; hence *ναύκληρος* may mean either. But οὕτ' ἐκιβέρων points to the *owner* who might be held liable for the loss of the cargo, in case the ship was not well equipped. — ἀφ' ὧν: most MSS. have *πᾶσι* before *κατασκενάσαντα,* as the antecedent of *ών.* — χρησάμενον, *encountering;* in agreement w. *πλοῖον.* Those who take *ναύκληρον* as referring to the *captain* place this partic. in agreement w. it. — πονησάντων, *and its tuckling laboring.* Professor Tyler calls attention to the nautical sense of the words in this passage; thus: *σωτηρίᾳ = for a safe voyage;* *κατασκενάσαντα = having fitted out;* *πονησάντων* and *σκευῶν* as above rendered. — ὥσπερ...ἔγώ: thrown in by way of parenthesis, to indicate the application to himself. The appositeness of this comparison may be remarked in every particular.

§ 195. εἴμαρτο sums up what he has been saying about *τύχη, ὁ δαίμων,* and *ὁ θεός.* — μηδὲ, *not even.* “A different policy would have left us without even that advantage.” HOLMES. — ἐκεῖνος, i. e. Philip. *He used every effort of persuasion.* — τριῶν ἡμερῶν, *a journey* (όδὸν accus. of extent) *of three days.* The distance fr. Athens to Chæronea is 62 Engl. miles. In § 230 Dem. says: *ἐπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως.* Athens was about 200 stadia distant fr. the Boeotian frontier. From 150 to 200 stadia was reckoned as an ordinary day's march. — τί ἀν...χρῆν, *what could we have looked for?* implying that the fear and panic were already so great that the case could hardly be worse. τί χρῆν προσδοκῶν above = *what should we have looked for,* assuming for the moment that things had been different. — που τῆς χώρας: somewhere in our territory. — νῦν, i. e. under existing circumstances, as it actually was; opposed to *τότε* below, wh. means in the other case, i. e. supposing my advice had not been followed. — στήναι, κ. τ. ἐ., *to stand firm, to concentrate, to draw breath.* The asyndeton gives us the notion of the rapidity of the thought and action at the crisis. — μία ἡμέρα: this brief respite after the battle of Chæronea, the orator means to

say, was of the utmost importance, and would not have occurred but for the Theban alliance. — **τότε δ'**: another instance of *apostasis*. Here it indicates horror; but in § 3, anxiety; and in § 22, anger. Cf. note § 3. — **ἄ...πειραν έδωκε**, sc. *αὐτῶν*; lit. which did not give a trial of themselves, i. e. enter into our experience. Cf. § 107; Dem. c. *Timocr.*, § 24: *καὶ πεῖραν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεδώκασιν*. — **τῷ προβάλλεσθαι**, and through the city's throwing before itself (as a shield). The reading *εννοια...τὸ* is found in Σ and is adopted by Bekk.

§ 196. **μοι**, dat. int.; all this long story of mine is directed to you. — **δικασταί**: before this Dem. has used *ἄνδρες Ληθηναῖοι*, but here he wishes to draw the distinction more closely between the jurors and the spectators. — **ἔξωθεν**, outside the bar; the court was enclosed by a wooden railing (*δρύφακτον*). Aesch., § 56, states that he does not remember ever before seeing so large a multitude present at a public trial. Cic. (*de opt. gen. orat.*, VII. 22) says: ad quod judicium concursus dicitur e tota Græcia factus esse. — **ἔξηρκει**, would suffice; *ἄν* omitted, as often w. the impf. in such expressions as *ἀνάγκη*, *χαλεπόν*, *εἰκὸς ἦν*, *ἔδει*, *χρῆν*, κ. τ. ἐ. Cf. G M T. 415, 416; H. 897; G. 1400. Cf. *θαυμαστὸν ἦν*, § 248. — **τοῖς ἄλλοις**: dat. assoc. or likeness w. *τῆς αὐτῆς*. — **ταῦτα**, i. e. of this ignorance and its results. This is one of the most complete dilemmas in the oration; but is there no escape fr. it?

§ 197. (*οὐ γὰρ ἀν...έχρωντο*,) for (if you had) they would not have adopted these (i. e. my measures). Thus indirectly the orator compliments the sagacity of his countrymen, as well as his own. — **ἄν**, sc. *ποιήσει*, wh. is readily understood fr. the connection, but inserted by inferior MSS. Cf. *ώς ἀν* (sc. *ἔχοι*), § 291. — **τῇ πόλει**: dat. dependent on *δυσμενέστατος*. — **ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν**, on the occurrence of the events. *ἐπὶ* expresses the occasion or opportunity upon wh. one bases his conduct. Cf. §§ 240, 284. — **καὶ ἄμα**: it is this remarkable coincidence that is referred to by *ὅπερ... τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς* above. — **Ἀρίστρατος**: a different person fr. the tyrant of Sicyon named in § 48. We know nothing further of these partisans of Philip than what is here stated. — **καθάπαξ**, thorough-going, out-and-out.

§ 198. **Ἐλλήνων...ἀπέκειτο**: this sentence is hexametric in its rhythm. So § 143: *τὸν γὰρ ἐν...Ἐλάτειαν*; and *τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα*, κ. τ. ἐ., § 188, acc. to Longinus, is dactyllic. The ancient critics were fond of pointing out such instances; but such rhythmical structure is, we believe, more general and accidental than special and intentional. — **ἐνευδοκιμεῖν** **ἀπέκειτο**, and surely the man for whom the misfortunes of the Greeks are laid up as a store on which to found his personal renown. **ἐνευδοκιμεῖν** = **ενδοκιμεῖν** ἐν αὐτοῖς. — **καὶ** = as; often so used in the second clause of a comparison; cf. H. 1042 a; Cu. § 624. 3; C. 705 c. — **δηλοῖς**, you make this manifest; sc. *οὐκ ἔνι*, κ. τ. ἐ. — **καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ**, κ. τ. ἐ., and from

your political action and again from your political inaction. Kenn. — **πράττεται**, κ. τ. ἐ.: this form of sentence is technically called ἀντιστροφή by the ancient rhetoricians. Other examples in this oration are found in §§ 117, 274. As an illustration from Roman oratory Diss. quotes Cic. *Phil.*, II. 22: Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos; interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives; eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas hujus ordinis afflcta est; afflixit Antonius. — **ἀντέκρουστε**: cf. note § 161. — **ρήγματα**: in medical terminology **ρήγματα** is used of *bruises* of the fleshy parts and *ruptures* of blood-vessels, and **σπάσματα** of the *sprains* of muscles. — **κινεῖται**, *are disturbed*; i. e. the old injury or weakness makes itself felt again whenever the body becomes diseased. The same simile is used by the orator in *Olynth.*, II., § 21: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν...έπ' ἀν δὲ ἀρρώστημα τι σιμβῆ, πάντα κινεῖται, καν δῆγμα καν στρέμμα καν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ἔ.

§ 199. **πολὺς...ἔγκειται**, *he lays great stress upon*. The predicate adj. **πολὺς** used st. an adv.; cf. **πολλῷ ρέοντι**, § 136. Cf. H. 619; G. 926; Cu. § 361. 8. — **εἰ...ἡν**: he assumes, for the moment, that it is so. — **τούτων ἡν**, *ought the city to have abandoned these things*; referring to the measures wh. he at that time advised the city to adopt.

§ 200. **νῦν...τότε**: cf. note § 195. — **δοκεῖ**, sc. ή **πόλις**. — **προεστάναι**: alludes to the famous **ἡγεμονία** of the Athenian state. — **ἀποστᾶσα**: cf. **πραχθέν**, § 190; **παρόντων ἡμῶν**, § 30 and note. — **πάντας**, sc. **τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις**. — **οὐδένα...οὐχ ὑπέμειναν**, *for whose sake there is no danger which our ancestors did not undergo*. For the use of the negat. cf. H. 1031; G. 1618; Cu. § 619, Obs. — **σοῦ**: we naturally expect **τῆς πόλεως** here, but the orator suddenly turns the thought upon **Æsch.**, as if *he* alone were capable of such meanness. — **τῆς πόλεως...έμοῦ**: in the same constr. as **σοῦ**; we supply **εἰπω** after **μὴ**: *for let me not say "the city" (γε makes πόλεως emphatic), nor yet "me."*

§ 201. **εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ'...ἥρημένης**: this entire sentence forms the protasis to **τίσι...ἀφικνούμένοις**, and consists itself of two contrasted parts, sc.: **εἰ τὰ μὲν πρ...άπαντων**, and **τὸν δ'...πεποιημένοι**; but as the first part is subdivided into two parts, sc.: **εἰ τὰ μὲν...περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ**, we observe that **μὲν** corresponding to **δέ** in **τὸν δ'...πεποιημένοι** is omitted, the full expression being **εἰ μὲν τὰ μὲν** to correspond to **ἡγεμῶν δὲ...τὸν δ'**. With such contrast of principal and subordinate parts **μὲν** is expressed both times in §§ 104, 214. — **τὰ πράγματ'...περιέστη**, *if affairs had turned out as they now have.*

§ 202. **ἦτι τούτων πρότερον**: the Spartan supremacy was lost w. the battle of Leuctra, 371 b. c., when the Theban began. — **τοῦ...βασιλέως**: that Xerxes actually requested Mardonius to make the Athenians such an

offer is stated by Herod., VIII. 140, and alluded to by Dem. *Phil.*, II., § 11. — **τοῦτ'**, i. e. ὁ τι...προεστάναι. — **διπλαύση...έχουσῃ...ποιεῖν...** **ἔταν**: a metathesis of construction for λαβεῖν...έχειν...ποιούσῃ...έώσῃ. Thus Dem. ironically represents the act of *obeying in a state of subjection* and of *giving up the supremacy* as a privilege. **λαβούσῃ** of *single acquisition*, **έχουσῃ** of *permanent possession*.

§ 203. **ώς έστε**: ironical; so also in § 212. — **πάτρια**: “*πάτριος* = that wh. is peculiar to ancestors; as *έθη, νόμοι*.” Krüg. W. paraphrases these adjectives thus: “This they had not inherited fr. their fathers, nor was it consistent w. their ideas of honor (*ἀνεκτὰ* = to be tolerated by their moral sense), nor was it congenial to their nature.” — **ἐκ...χρόνου**: cf. note § 26. — **προσθεμένην**, *by attaching herself to*; the partic. denotes means. — **ἀγωνιζομένη**, *while struggling*: the partic. denotes time. — **κινδυνεύοντα**: supplementary partic.: cf. G M T. 879; H. 981; G. 1580; Cu. § 590.

§ 204. **ἥθεσιν**: “*character*, as the result of manner and habits. *ἥθος* = a prolonged and strengthened *ἦθος*. Cf. Aristot. *Eth.*, II. 1.” TYLER. — **ἀποφηνάμενον**, *who declared himself in favor of*. — **Κυρσίλον**: the connection shows that Dem. has the time just prior to the battle of Salamis in mind. Cic. *de Offic.*, III. 11, speaks thus: “Cyrillum quendam suadentem, ut in urbe manerent Xerxemque recipierent, lapidibus obruerunt.” Herod., IX. 5, gives the same account, but of a man named Lycidas, and places the event just before the battle of Platea. That there were two victims to the popular excitement of those stirring times, both meeting with a similar death, is not impossible.

§ 205. **ρήτορα** = here *σύμβουλον, statesman*. — **δουλεύστοντι**, *they might enjoy slavery*; spoken w. a peculiar bitterness and irony of tone. The common reading inserts *εὐτυχῶς* after it. The use of the fut. indic. after an historical tense adds to the vividness of the expression; so also in *ἔξεσται*. Wh. remarks that by the use of the indic. here Dem. identifies the Athenians of the two different ages, and represents the liberty and independence of one epoch as the unbroken continuity of the freedom asserted in another. — **τῆς εἰμαρμένης, κ. τ. ἐ.**, *his destined end in the course of nature*. Lord B. Death is represented (1) as fixed by destiny (*τῆς μοίρας*), in distinction fr. death brought upon one by his voluntary act; (2) as that wh. comes in the course of nature (as by disease), in distinction fr. death caused by external violence (as in battle). — **ὁ δὲ καὶ**, sc. *νομίζων γεγενῆσθαι*. The *καὶ* = *also*, i. e. as well as to his parents. — **ἐπιδεῖν** = *to live to see* (any evil). Cf. Æsch. *Agam.*, 1246. — **ἴθελήσει**, *will volunteer*. The fut. (st. the pres., as in *περιμένει*) denotes that he will do this whenever the demand comes. In illustration of this change of tense cf. Soph. *Antig.*, 349, 350. — **τοῦ θανάτου**: by its emphatic position = *than death itself*. Wh.

§ 206. *εἰ μὲν...νῦν δ' ἔγώ μὲν...οὐτος δὲ*: observe the double contrast between (1) what he was *not* doing and what he *was* doing; (2) between what *he* was doing and *Aesch.* was doing. — *εἰ ἐπεχείρουν...ἄν ἐπιτιμήσειέ*: a mixed condit. sentence: *if I were undertaking* (as I am not), *every one would censure me with good reason* (were he to do what is reasonable). Cf. G M T. 504. — *ὑμετέρας*, *are yours*; predicative, and placed first for the sake of emphasis. Here Dem. purposely underestimates his own services in order to place the conduct of *Aesch.* in a more conspicuous light. — *τῆς μέντοι διακονίας*, *but in the management of each of the affairs transacted I affirm that I also have a share*. *διακονία* is contrasted by means of *μέντοι* w. *προαιρέσεις* and *φρόνημα*; to correspond to *μέντοι* (= *δέ*) there should be *μέν* wh. is suppressed, as in § 201. W.

§ 207. *τῶν δλων*, *the whole*, i. e. both *the aims* (*προαιρέσεις*) and the *administration* (*διακονία*). This is a skilful turn of the orator: my part, he says, was merely to execute what you willed; your part was to cherish the noble purposes and adopt the most patriotic measures. Now *Aeschines* attacks the whole, and in doing so commits a wrong against you greater than against me, inasmuch as your part was more prominent than mine, and the renown belonging to you is eternal, while the honor proposed for me is temporary. — *γλιχεῖται* is a strong word; acc. to its etymology it denotes a *tenuous* and *easy* striving. — *ἔγκωμια*: Arist. *Rhet.*, I. 9, defines *ἔγκωμιον* as a special laudation bestowed for particular and brilliant action, while *ἔπαινος* signifies praise in general. — *τουδι*, i. e. Ctesiphon. — *τῇ...ἀγνωμοσύνῃ*, *by the perverseness of fortune*.

§ 208. *μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι*, *no!* *by those of our ancestors who bore the brunt of the danger at Marathon*. The common reading has *οὐ μὰ*, but the negat. is readily understood w. *μὰ*. In the partic. the *προ-* implies the *fore-front* of the battle. So Thuc., I. 73, represents the Athenians as saying: *Μαραθῶνι τε μόνοι προκανθρεῦσται τῷ βαρβάρῳ*. — *Μαραθῶνι*: the common text has *ἐν* M.; but the prep. is regularly omitted w. the names of Attic demes. Cf. H. 783 b; G. 1197; Cu. § 442. — *ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ*, *off Artemisium*. It will be observed that the orator departs fr. the chronological order and names the land and the naval engagements in succession. — *ἐν τοῖς...μνήμασι*: these were in the outer Ceramicus, along the road leading to the Academy. Cf. Pansan., I. 29; Thuc., II. 34. But the heroes of Marathon lay buried on the field of battle. The custom of honoring those who had fallen in battle w. a burial at the expense of the state, goes back to the time of Solon. Cf. § 285. — *δροῖος*: emphatic. This lofty strain of eloquence, known as “the Demosthenic oath,” has been deservedly admired by all critics. Cf. Hermogenes, p. 425; Quint. *Inst. Orat.*, XI. 3, 168; Lord Brougham, Vol. VII. 124. The chief points to be noted are

these : (1) This oath was an act of religious appeal, for wh. there was a sufficient ground in the belief and feelings of the audience ; it was not, therefore, an empty rhetorical flourish. (2) As a solemn appeal it served to rebuke Æsch., who had brought Dem. into disparaging contrast (see the passages cited fr. Æsch.) w. the ancient heroes of Greece. (3) The simplicity of the orator's style is apparent even in his most impassioned flights. Lord B. thus expresses himself on the word *ἀγαθούς* : "Mark the severe simplicity, the subdued tone of diction, in the most touching parts of the *old man eloquent's* loftiest passages. In the oath, when he comes to the burial-place where they repose by whom he is swearing, if ever a grand epithet were allowable it is here ; yet the only one he applies is *ἀγαθούς*." (4) The orator, while apparently carried away by his enthusiasm and passion, does not for a moment lose sight of his argument, but carefully subordinates everything to the main thought. "He teaches us," says Longinus, "that in the height of passion we should retain our judgment. He nowhere says 'by those who were *victorious*,' but everywhere shuns the word wh. would indicate the issue of the battles, lest the *defeat* of Chæronea should be suggested to his opponents or his hearers ; till at length he has prepared the way w. the hearers for the conclusion : *all of whom ALIKE the state buried, and not those alone who were successful.*"

§ 209. γραμματοκίφων : ἀντὶ τοῦ γραμματέως, ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προκεκυ-
φότες γράφουσι. Etym. Magnum. Cf. § 261. The two epithets may be
rendered by *accursed scribbler*. — Ἐλεγεῖς : cf. Æsch. § 181, cited on p. 92. —
ῶν τίνος, i. e. they were irrelevant to the present case. — ἐμὲ δέ, κ. τ. ἐ., and
I, who came forward as counsellor to the city in matters pertaining to her
supremacy, whose spirit ought I to have assumed in ascending the Bema ? —
τριταγωνιστά : cf. note § 129. Observe the contrast implied in the juxtaposition of this epithet w. τῶν πρωτείων ; also the emphatic position of *ἐμὲ*. — τούτων : masc., referring to the Athenians. Tyler follows Holmes in
referring it to *τρόπαια*, κ. τ. ἐ.

§ 210. τὰ...συμβόλαια : obj. of *κρίνειν* ; lit. *contracts, agreements*, but here used of *civil suits* in a general sense. Cf. L. and Sc. — ἐπὶ...σκοπούντας,
by considering them in the light of. For this sense of *ἐπὶ* w. σκοπεῖν cf.
§§ 233, 294. — ἀποβλέποντας, *by looking away to the praiseworthy precedents*. — παραλαμβάνειν, *to take along (παρά)* ; depends on *νομίζειν* and has
τὸ φρόνημα for its obj. — τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ : each dicast received
a *staff*, on wh. was painted the letter of the alphabet corresponding to the
section of the Heliastic court in wh. he was to serve for that day, and a
ticket upon wh. the name of the holder and the number of his division were
written. At the close of the sitting the *σύμβολον* was given up as a voucher
for the dicast's fee of 3 obols. — τὰ δημόσια, *the court-room*. — ἐκείνων, i. e.
τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα.

§ 211. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, *But enough, for*; denotes a transition. — ἐμπεσὼν : as if casually. — ἔστιν δ = ἔνια. — ὅποθεν, sc. ἐκεῖσε ὅποθεν; the digression begins w. § 180. — ἀφικόμεθ', *we had arrived*; i. e. we ambassadors. — τῶν ἀλλων, sc. the Ætolians, Dolopians, Phthiotans. — πρέσβεις : Amyntas and Clearchus are named as the Macedonian envoys. — νῦν : to prove that I am not telling a different story *now* fr. what was told at the time of the embassy.

§ 212. συκοφαντίας, *calumny*. — τὸν καιρόν : cf. Aesch., § 137 (cited below) and § 141 (cited on p. 64). — ὡς ἔτέρως : cf. § 85. — ὡς ζούκεν : cf. § 203. — ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ρήτωρ : Diss. observes that the repetition of the article would be objectionable, as the ideas of σύμβουλος and ρήτωρ flow into each other. The article is repeated in ἡ προαιρεσις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία (§ 93), τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον (§ 205), τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ρήτορα (§ 278), where either the emphasis or a logical distinction seems to demand it. — οὐδὲν...συναίτιος : contrasted w. μόνος αἴτιος. In those things wh. might naturally be supposed to have been done in part by me, as being a statesman, he allows me no share; but for those misfortunes wh. are in no way related to my calling and work, I am alone responsible. What consistency!

§ 213. ἐποιήσαντο, i. e. the Thebans. — ἐκείνους : the envoys fr. Philip and those fr. the other allies of Thebes, who had the preceedence. — τὸ . κεφάλαιον = *in summa*. — ὧν = τούτων δ. — αὐτοὺς, i. e. the Thebans. — βούλονται : the direct for the indirect mode, to give vividness. — ή διέντας αὐτοὺς, either by allowing themselves (i. e. the same as ἐκείνους and subj. of ηξιον) a free passage through their territory (Boeotia). — τὰ ἐκ τῆς 'Α. βοσκήματα : cf. § 44 and note. — ἐκ δὲ ὧν...πολέμου, while as the result of what they affirmed we were about to advise, their property in Boeotia would be plundered by means of the war. An argument, as W. remarks, that would have great force w. the selfish Thebans. — συντείνοντ', all aiming at the same result.

§ 214. ἡμεῖς : the ellipsis of ἐλέγομεν immediately after ξλεγον is not harsh. Some MSS. have ἀντείπομεν. — τὰ μὲν...ἔγώ μὲν : cf. note § 201. — ἀντὶ...τιμησαλμην, to repeat these things severally I would count worth all my life. — ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα : prolepsis for δέδοικα μὴ ὡμεῖς. — ὕσπερ δὲ εἰ... ἥγοιμενοι is elliptical; the full expression would be ἥγοιμενοι ὕσπερ δὲ ἥγοισθε εἰ ἥγοισθε. Cf. Madv. G. S., § 139 c; G M T. 227; H. 905 a, 3; G. 1313. Transl. : thinking that even a deluge, as it were, had swept over the events; i. e. all trace of them had become obliterated.

§ 215. μετὰ ταῦτα : this narrative is entirely contradictory to the statement of Aesch., §§ 137, 140, 141. Diss. thinks that such a bare misrepresentation as this of Aesch. (assuming that the account of Dem. is true) could not have been made unchallenged before the court; and he regards

the passage as a later insertion in the revised edition of Æsch. — ἔξητε, ἔβοηθείτε: Bremi calls attention to the asyndeton as descriptive of rapid action. — ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, that, when our infantry and cavalry were encamped outside the walls. Reiske understands that the Theban infantry and cavalry vacated their own city for the occupation of the Athenian army and encamped outside. This would be a “compliment” unheard of! Besides, as Diss. observes, the distinctive pronouns *your* and *their* could not be wanting. Bœckh *Econ.*, p. 387, speaks of the difficulty, owing to the laxity of discipline among the ancient soldiery, of obtaining permission to introduce an army into an allied city for quarters. The meaning seems plainly this: the Athenian forces after pitching their camps outside were invited to take up quarters in the houses of the Thebans; accordingly, *τὴν στρατιὰν* embraces as a general term *τῶν ὀπλιτῶν* and *τῶν ιππέων*. — καθ' ὑμῶν = ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. So Phil., II., § 9: μέγιστον καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον. Contrariwise in Hom. *Il.*, VI. 524, ὑπέρ = κατά: “Οθ’ ὑπέρ σέθεν αἰσχεῖ ἀκούω. — σωφροσύνης, self-command, Wh.; good behavior, Kenn.; *Enthaltsamkeit*, Jacobs. — ἀμείνους: explanatory of ἀνδρίας; δικαιοτέρ' ἀξιοῦν explanatory of δικαιοσύνης. — καὶ τὰ...καὶ...δ', κ. τ. ἐ., and what is kept under the closest guard not only by themselves but also by all men.

§ 216. κατά γ' ὑμᾶς = quod ad vos quidem attinet. V. — οὐτε...τε: negat. and affirm. correlated; so often. — τὰς πρώτας: all the MSS. except Σ add μάχας. W. is the only editor we know of, besides Z, that follows Σ. Another instance of such a verbal ellipsis is found in Lysias *pro Mantib.*, § 15: *τῆς πρώτης* [sc. μάχης] *τεταγμένος μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμοῖς*. But in our sentence we would more naturally supply *παρατάξεις* = *manœuvres, skirmishes*, fr. the preceding partic. W. thinks this admirably suited to the connection, as the allusion is probably to the preliminary marches and skirmishes by wh. the combined Thebans and Athenians sought to check the advance of Philip. — τοῦ ποταμοῦ, i. e. the Cephissus, wh. flows through the plain of Elatea and enters Boeotia not far fr. Chæronea. — τὴν χειμερινήν: critics are divided as to the application of this epithet, some making it mean *the skirmish in the winter*, others *in the storm*. But for the latter meaning the word is properly *χειμέριος*. If, w. Grote, we suppose an interval of 10 months (fr. Oct. 339 to Aug. 338 b. c.) between the capture of Elatea and the battle of Chæronea, there is no difficulty in placing these encounters early in the spring of 338 b. c., and understanding *χειμερινήν* of a wintry time among the mountain passes of Phocis, where snow is sometimes found in the spring months. But if, w. Clinton *Fast. Hellen.*, App., p. 16, we suppose that the battle of Chæronea occurred only 50 days after the news arrived of Philip's entrance into Phocis, we have no recourse left other than to say w. him, “the word *χειμερινήν* is probably corrupt.”

§ 217. ξήλου, *emulation, enthusiasm*. — εἰ μὲν...εἰ.....εἰ δὲ...εἰ: cf. ἐὰν δ'...δν, § 178 and note.—εἰ ὁν...μάρτυρας, if what he himself called the gods to witness as being most excellent; sc. by participating in the sacrifices, etc. (*συνέθνε*). — ψηφίσασθαι, i. e. by condemning Ctes., wh. would necessarily imply a condemnation of the orator's policy. — τοὺς θεούς: the gods by whom the judges were sworn were the same as those to whom Aesch. had sacrificed. — εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν presents the other horn of the dilemma. Lord B. comments upon the exquisite diction, the majestic rhythm, the skilful collocation of this passage. The dilemma, he remarks, is better than the average dilemmas of oratory, and quite sufficient, though incomplete, for the momentary victory at wh. alone the orator often aims. What retort could Aesch. obviously have made?

§ 218. Θηβαῖοι...νομίζειν, *but the Thebans were in the belief that they had been preserved through us*. The careful student will have noticed before this the fondness of Dem. for infinitive clauses w. the article. — τοῖς νομίζουσιν, i. e. ήμῦν. So reads Σ; all other MSS. have δοκοῦσιν. V. supposes νομίζουσιν to be a corruption due to the proximity of νομίζειν. — οὗτοι refers to Aesch. and his associates. — ἔπειπτεν: the imperf. denotes the frequency of this correspondence, the object of wh. was to incite his allies in the Peloponn. war to render him more prompt assistance. Cf. § 156. — συνέχεια, κ. τ. ἐ, *my persistence, and my wanderings* (sc. his πρέσβεια), *and my hardships*. — διέσυρε: there is no passage in Aesch. speech where this is done. But cf. Aesch. c. Ctes., § 100. — τι is placed last for emphasis.

§ 219. Καλλίστρατος, *that distinguished Callistratus*. He was the most eminent orator of his period, and is said to have incited Dem. when a boy to the study of eloquence by his speech on Oropus. — Ἀριστοφῶν: cf. § 70. — Κέφαλος: cf. § 251. — Θρασύβουλος: of Collytus; not the famous deliverer of Athens from the rule of the Thirty Tyrants. — διὰ παντὸς = ἀπλῶς. Cf. §§ 88, 179. — ὑπέλειπε, *was wont to reserve for himself privately*. ὑπό expresses the underlying motive. — εἰ τι γένοιτο, euphemistic for *in case of a calamity*. — ἀναφοράν, *a final resource, a means of recovery*.

§ 220. οὕτως: very emphatic; join w. μέγαν εἶναι. — έδόκει, sc. δικιδυννος. — χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν, *that it seemed to me to allow no opportunity nor even forethought for personal safety*. τῆς ἀσφαλείας belongs gramm. to πρόνοιαν, but logically also to χώραν wh. would be followed by the dat. — ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, *one must be content*. The orator means to say that in his opinion duty to country should in such a crisis overshadow all personal considerations, and one should be thankful if he were able to discharge that duty.

§ 221. ὑπέρ = περὶ: cf. note § 9. — γράφοντ̄ δν: the partic. express the condition (cf. §§ 30, 190); δν to be taken w. the infin. γράψαι, πρᾶξαι, ποεσθεῖσαι. — μηδὲ, *nor even*. — ἐν πᾶσιν...ἔταπτον, *in all public affairs I*

constantly made myself the *jocundus*. W. considers the phrase nearly synonymous w. ἔδωκα ἐμαντόν in §§ 179, 197, 219.

§ 222. **Eis ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ.**: the rhetorical order of the Greek may be imitated in Engl.: *This is the condition into which, etc.; this is the utterance which, etc.* — ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους, *he who before this hurled many defiant boasts against the city.* φωνὴν ἐπαιρεῖν, § 291, = *to lift up the voice in loud tones.* — Διώνδας: cf. § 249. Acc. to the author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 848 e, Diondas prosecuted not only the authors of this decree, Demomeles and Hyperides, but also Aristonieus (§ 223). — τὸ μέρος: cf. note § 103. — ἀποπεφευγότα, *acquitted, rarely used of things.*

§ 223. **'Αριστόνικος**: cf. note § 83, where the decree of Demom. and Hyper. is taken as a single one, and that of Ctes. is regarded as *third* in order. — **συγκατηγόρησεν**: the usages of Athenian law-courts permitted the prosecutor to associate w. himself several assistants in making complaint and in carrying on the suit. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 710. — **Δημορέλη**: a cousin of Dem. A. Schaef., II. 528, conjectures that the crowning proposed by Demom. occurred at the great Dionysia, April, 338 b. c., and that proposed by Hyper. at the Panathenaic festival, August, 338 b. c. I prefer the view of W., that Hyper. was only incidentally connected w. the crowning proposed by Demom. — **μᾶλλον...εἰκότως**, *more properly than this man*, i. e. Ctes.; simply because it is more fitting to punish the first offence than the second after the first has been passed by unnoticed.

§ 224. **τῷδε**: refers to Ctes.; ἐκείνους to the persons just mentioned; τοῦτον αὐτὸν to Æsch.; οὗτος to Ctes. again. — **ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ'**, *to refer to* (as a precedent). The force of the prep. remains throughout the sentence. — **περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων**, i. e. legally settled. A suit once decided could not be renewed in an Athenian court of law. But the suit brought by Æsch. was not exactly identical w. that brought by Diondas against Demom. and Hyper.; so that the *spirit* of the law, rather than its letter, is meant, and the argument of Dem. is a *moral* rather than a *legal* one. — **τότε, in that case**; i. e. supposing Æsch. had brought suit in the first instance. — **τὸ πράγμα, κ. τ. ἐ.**, *the real question* (i. e. whether Dem. was deserving of a crown or not) *would have been tried on its own merits, before it had obtained any of these precedents.* These points seem well taken.

§ 225. **οἶμαι**: ironical. — **ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, κ. τ. ἐ.**: he means the transactions connected w. the peace of Philocrates. — **μήτε...μηδεὶς, st. οὔτε...οὐδεὶς**, because there is a shade of uncertainty in the thought, wh. is implied in **οἶμαι**. — **προφάσεις**: cf. note § 156. — **δοκεῖν τι λέγειν**, *to seem to speak to the purpose.* οὐδὲν λέγειν = *to speak to no purpose.*

§ 226. **ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας**: cf. note § 17. — **μόνον οὐκ** = *all but.* — **τοὺς...φυγῶν**: the same point is made in § 15. — **κρίσιν**: subj. of **ἔσεσθαι**.

§ 227. περὶ ἡμῶν, i. e. *Æsch.* and himself. Dem. makes the illustration of his rival apply to them both. This idea is brought out more fully in the sentence : οὐ γὰρ ἀν μεταπείθειν, κ. τ. ἐ., § 228. — περιεῖναι χρήματά τῷ, *that money remains over in the hands of some one.* The figure is taken fr. trade or banking business. — καθαιρώσιν, lit. if the pebbles cancel or remove, sc. one's credit of money (*τὰ χρήματα*); i. e. if accounts balance. This sense of *καθαιρεῖν* seems somewhat forced; *aipeῖν* in the passage cited fr. *Æsch.* is to be taken in much the same way, and ἀντανελεῖν (lit. to take up on the opposite side), § 231, has the same sense. Other Editt. except V. read *καθαιρᾶσιν*, wh. is explained as referring to *clearing away the pebbles from the board* (cf. ἀβάκιον, Abacus, Dict. Antiq.) in opposite columns of debit and credit, until the whole board is cleared and accounts balance.

§ 228. σοφοῦ, “*sapient.*” Lord B. — ὑπάρχειν ἐγγωσμένους : cf. § 95. οὐ γὰρ ἀν, κ. τ. ἐ., for he would not be seeking to change your mind, if there were not such an opinion as this existing in regard to each of us. Dem. proves himself skilful in retort.

§ 229. τιθεὶς ψήφους, by casting up accounts. — οὗτος λογισμός : *oὗτος* is predicate; for the mode of reckoning public deeds is not this (i. e. the arithmetical, but another).

§ 230. παραταξαμένους : in agreement w. *αὐτούς* supplied fr. Θηβαῖος and subj. of *κωλύειν*. — ἐπτακόσια στάδια : cf. note § 195. — τὸν ληστὰς : cf. note §§ 145, 241. — φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν = *to plunder.* — ἐν εἰρήνῃ : antithetic position to *τὸν πόλεμον.* — ἐκ θαλάττης, from the sea reckoning landwards, hence *on the side of the sea*; referring to the security of the coasts fr. predatory invasions. — λαβόντα, after he should have taken Byzantium; to be taken in close connection w. Philip's *conceived* (not actual) occupation of the Hellespont.

§ 231. ψήφοις, sc. τῷ τῷν ψήφων λογισμῷ: the orator doubtless asked this question in a sneering tone: Can the statement of deliverance fr. such threatened calamities be likened to an arithmetical computation of debit and credit? — ή... ἀντανελεῖν, κ. τ. ἐ., or does it seem to you proper to offset these against each other? Cf. note § 227. Does he mean (1) offset his own good deeds or benefits against the misfortunes that are charged to his administration; as Lord B. expresses it: “Must these events be taken out of the opposite side of my account?” Or (2) offset these benefits just enumerated against the common misfortunes of the country; wh. is the interpretation of Reiske, Wh., Kenn., et al. Or (3) should our deeds be made to cancel each other; are my services to the country to be set over against your misdeeds, so that they mutually cancel, and neither go down to later remembrance? The last interpretation seems most in accordance w. the spirit of the entire passage. In the preceding section Dem. implies that the calamities

wh. were prevented by his policy would have been the legitimate result of his rival's conduct. And we understand this inquiry to be directed, as the one just before, to Æsch., and w. a touch of sarcasm. The thought, then, of the passage is this: when Æsch. asks the Athenians to change their opinion respecting Dem. by taking into consideration the debit side of his account, Dem. responds: "let our accounts stand as they are; they are not to be cast up and balanced as trading accounts, and then forgotten." — προστίθημι, *add to the account*; a mercantile term in harmony w. the preceding λογισμός. — ἐν οἷς, *in those cases in which*. — καθάπαξ: cf. § 197. — ἔτεροις means the Phocians and Loerians, also the Thebans after the battle of Chæronea. — τῆς φιλανθρωπίας refers to Philip's generous and kind treatment of the Athenians after the battle of Chæronea. Demades *Fragm. 1*, says: ἔγραψα καὶ Φιλίππῳ τιμάς· οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι. δισχιλίους γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων, καὶ χίλια πολιτῶν σώματα χωρὶς κήρυκος, καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἄνευ πρεσβείας λαβὼν ὑμῖν ταῦτ' ἔγραψα. Cf. also Polyb., V. 10. — περιβαλλόμενος, *with a view to accomplishing the rest of his purposes*. περιβάλλεσθαι = *to compass or embrace in one's plans*; cf. Isocr. *Panegyr.*, § 184. — καλῶς ποιοῦντες, *happily*; indicating the subjective feeling of the speaker, = *I am happy to say*. The difference between this and καλῶς πράττοντες is clearly shown in Dem. *c. Leptin.*, § 110: θετε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὄμβοιαν καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα πάντα ἅμεινον ἔκεινων πράττετε.

§ 232. παραδείγματα πλάττων, *manufacturing illustrations*; such e. g. as that of the ψῆφοι. — ρήματα σχήματα: the former Cic., *Orat. VIII.*, understands of the criticism Æsch. (§§ 72, 166) made upon several *expressions* used by Dem.; the latter word may refer to the mimicking of certain *gestures* peculiar to Dem., wh. were, perchance, not altogether in precise keeping (cf. Æsch., § 167) w. the artificial rules of the schools. — πάνυ γὰρ, *for altogether in consequence of this — don't you see? — have come about the affairs of the Greeks*. A similar ironical use of οὐχ ὥρᾶς is found in § 266. — παρήνεγκα, *I extended my hand on this side, but not on that side*.

§ 233. ἐπ'...ἐσκόπε: cf. note § 210. — ἀφορμᾶς, *resources*; particularly *financial*, as distinct fr. *military* (δυνάμεις). — ἐπιστὰς: cf. § 60. — ἐποίησα...ἐδείκνυεν: notice the diff. in the tenses: *if I had made...he would (now) point out*. — χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ, *I shall make the statement*; an emphatic paraphrase for λέξω.

§ 234. τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους: when the peace of 346 b. c. was concluded, Athens had control over Peparethos, Proconnesos, Tenedos, Thasos, Sciatbos, in addition to Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, Samos, wh. belonged to her as dependencies. Chios and Rhodes had torn themselves loose in the Social War, 357 – 355 b. c.; about the same time also occurred the revolt of

Corcyra. — **σύνταξιν**: a euphemistic word, whose origin Harpocr. explains: ἔλεγον τοὺς φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ "Ελλῆνες τὸ τῶν φόρων δνομα. Beekh *Publ. Econ.*, p. 544, surmises that this contribution was subsequently increased (cf. § 237) to as much as 400 talents. Cf. Dem. *Phil.*, IV., § 37 ff. This contribution was made under the new Athenian confederacy formed in 377 b. c. See Grote, X., cap. 77. — **προεξελεγμένα**, collected in advance, anticipated. Cf. Dem. *Phil.*, I., § 34. — **όπλιτην...ιππέα**: an instance of asyndeton. Cf. § 67. — **τῶν οἰκείων**, the citizen-soldiery; the same as *τῶν πολιτικῶν*, § 237, in distinction fr. mercenary troops wh. are meant by **όπλιτην**, **ιππέα** and **ξένοι** (§ 237). — **φοβερώτατον**, sc. *ἥν*. — **οὐτοι**: Aesch. and his associates.

§ 235. **πῶς**, sc. *ὑπῆρχεν* **ἔχοντα**. — **προλέγων...βουλευόμενος...φεύγων...ὑπεύθυνος**: a most lifelike picture of the comparative weakness and strength of a democratic and despotic form of government. Cf. Isoer. *Nicocl.*, § 19. Larned compares Canning's description of Bonaparte's power: "He asks no counsel, he renders no account, he wields at will the population and resources of a mighty empire and its dependent states."

§ 236. **καὶ γάρ τοῦτ'**: the force of **καὶ** = *also* falls upon **τοῦτ'**, wh. refers by anticipation to *τίνος κύρου* *ἥν*. — **πρώτον** has no corresponding *εἶτα* expressed; the next point in the enumeration is **ὅσα...περιγένοντο**. — **οὐ μόνον μετέχον**: his *only* privilege, as compared w. the advantages of Philip, was that of haranguing the people, and this he had to share w. his opponents. — **περιγένοντο**, and whatever successes these gained over me; he means in the discussions and resolutions of the Assembly. — **δι'...ἥν...πρόφασιν**, through whatever pretext each success might chance to arise. **ἔκαστον** = *τὸ περιγενέσθαι*. With **τύχοι** supply **γεγνόμενον**. — **ταῦθ'...βεβούλευμένοι**, those you adopted in favor of the enemy, and then took your departure (sc. fr. the Assembly).

§ 237. **ἐκ**, out of; i. e. as starting-points. — **Μεγαρέας** is written **Μεγαρῆς**, § 234. — **τῶν πολιτικῶν**: cf. note § 234. — **συντέλειαν**, joint contribution. — **ὅσων...πλείστην**: **ὅσην** would be the usual constr.; the genit. is due to attraction. A decree found at the close of the *Lives of the Ten Orators* states that this contribution amounted to more than 500 talents.

§ 238. **τὰ...δικαια**, our just dues as regards the Thebans. He alludes to the complaints of Aesch. contained in § 143, wh. is cited on p. 85. — **τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους**: cf. note § 95. — **τὰ πρὸς Εύβοέας**: cf. Aesch., §§ 92, 93. — **τῶν ἵσων**: "τὰ ἵσα hoc loco sunt aequae portiones sumptuum in bellum faciendorum." Schaef. — **τῶν...τριήρων**: genit. of the whole depending on **τὰς διακοσίας**. — **τριακοσίων**: the whole number of ships at the battle of Salamis is given by Thuc., I. 74, acc. to some MSS., as 300, acc. to other MSS., as 400, of wh. Athens furnished two thirds. Herod., VIII. 48, says there

were 378, and of these 180 were Athenian. — ἐλαττοῦσθαι, *to be defrauded*. Dem. turns into a meritorious act what Aesch. had censured as an injustice practised upon the city by Thebes, through the venality of Dem.

§ 239. κενάς, κ. τ. ἐ: *you confer upon these* (i. e. the Athenians) *empty favors in culminating me*; empty, because so entirely useless after all was over. — παρῶν, i. e. in the Assembly, as ἔγραφε shows. — ἐνεδέχετο, *if, indeed, they (ταῦτα) admitted of it*, sc. πράττειν; i. e. if they were practicable. — παρὰ = διὰ: *on account of, under the existing circumstances*. Schaeff. But the sense seems quite as good if we take it as in παρ' αὐτὰ τάδικήματα, § 13, = *at the moment of*; implying that the crises were such as to demand instantaneous action, when they had to accept what they could get, without deliberating upon what they might wish to have. — δσα τῆθουλόμεθα: the indic. denotes what is definite; δοίη, the optat., denotes what is indefinite. — καλ...καλ, *not only...but also*. — τοὺς...ἀπελαυνομένους: W. takes in a hypothetical sense, and as referring to the Thebans and others who were negotiating for an alliance w. Athens, in case *they should be repulsed* through the exorbitant demands of the Athenians.

§ 240. νῦν, *as the case stands*. — κατηγορίας: the plural, since there were many points embraced in the one formal accusation. — ἀν adds emphasis to τι and modifies ποιεῖν...λέγειν below, where it is repeated. Cf. G M T. 223, 224; G. 1312. — τούτων, i. e. τὰ πρὸς Θηβαῖος δίκαια in § 238. — ἀκριβολογουμένου: deriv. ! *chaffering, haggling*.

§ 241. οὐχ, sc. ἀν ἔλεγον. — βουλόμενοι refers to the people of the πόλεις above. — εἴτα, *furthermore*; it continues the question in the direct form introduced by οὐχ; the whole is summed up at the close in οὐκ ἀν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον. — τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, κ. τ. ἐ: the calamities wh. in § 230 he named as the impending results of the policy of his rival, the orator here sums up in a different order as likely to be laid to *his* charge by Aesch., had he not prevented them. His enemies now find fault w. the means by wh. he averted the calamities wh. they were preparing; but these very calamities, had they occurred, they would have laid at his door; they were bound to blame him anyhow. — σιτοπομπίας: cf. note § 87. — τῶν ληστῶν: cf. note § 145. — καλ...γε, *yea...and*.

§ 242. φύσει κίναδος: cf. note § 162. — τάνθρωπιόν, *manikin, apology for a man*; the neuter and the diminutive combining to form the contemptuous term. — αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος: an allusion, probably, to his extravagant imitations and minicries on the stage. — ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος: cf. note § 180. — δεινότης, *power as an orator, eloquence*. — πατρίδι: for the omission of the art. cf. § 170. — νῦν, *now at last, to-day*; this emphasis belongs to it also in νῦν λέγεις; § 243.

§ 243. ὥσπερ ἀν εἰ: the ellipsis (cf. § 194) is somewhat as follows: *to do*

so is just as absurd as it would be (*ώσπερ ἀν εἰ*) if, etc. — **ἀσθενοῦσι**, κ. τ. ἔ., visiting his patients in the course of their sickness. On the parallel passage in Æsch. given below, see Introduction, p. xv. — **τὰ νομιζόμενα**, the customary rites were being performed over him. — **τὸ καὶ τὸ**, this and that, so and so; an instance of the original demonstrative use of the article — **ἄνθρωπος**: Bekk.'s emendation for *ἄνθρωπος* of the MSS., on the ground that the art. is needed w. the demonstr. pronoun. — **εἴτα νῦν**, do you then now at last (when all is over) speak?

§ 244. **τοινυ** marks the conclusion. — **τὴν ἡπταν**: at Chæronea. — **παρ**^ῷ **ἐμοὶ**, in my power. — **ὅποι ἐπέμφθην**: the indic. emphasizes the *actual* fact, while **πεμφθείην**, § 45, states the fact indefinitely. — **οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐ...** **οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐ**: a marked instance of *asyndeton*, adding much emphasis to the expression. — **Θετταλίας**: of these embassies little is known besides what is said in this oration and in the Third Philippic. The Theban has been described in § 211 ff.; that to Byzantium, in § 88. *The kings of the Thracians* were Teres and Cersobleptes. The latter Æsch., § 61, mentions as **ἀνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ πόλει**. — **ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν**: Dem. also went on a similar embassy to the Peloponn. states. Cf. § 79 and note § 45. — **ἄλλ' ἐν οἷς**, κ. τ. ἔ., but where his ambassadors were vanquished in argument, he came with arms and carried the day. Kenn.

§ 245. **μαλακίαν σκώπτων**, scoffing at the same man for cowardice. In allusion to the charge of Æsch. that he had fled fr. his post on the field of battle. This story, first found in Æsch., grew as it was repeated, until in the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, p. 845, it is narrated as a fact, that Dem., as he was fleeing fr. the battle-field, became entangled in a bramble-bush, and panic-stricken turned to the bush, saying: “Spare my life and take me prisoner!” Against this charge the orator finds a sufficient defence in this and the succeeding sections. — **τῆς...ψυχῆς**: commentators are uncertain whether to take this as *courage*, *temper*, or as *life*.

§ 246. **πᾶσαν ἔξετασιν**, a full examination. — **οὐ παραιτοῦμαι**: I do not beg off. — **πέπρακτα**: Grote, XI. 121, remarks upon this claim of Dem.: “The first Philippic is alone sufficient to prove, how justly Dem. lays claim to the merit of having ‘seen events in their beginnings’ and given timely warning to his countrymen.” — **πολιτικὰ** = *οἰκεῖα*; which are inherent and unavoidable defects belonging to all popular governments. **πόλις** is used here in the sense of *πολιτεία*. Cf. Isoer. Niccol., § 17 ff., for a comparison between democratic and monarchical government. — **ώς**: separated fr. the superlative by a prep. Cf. § 288. — **προτρέψατ**, sc. **τὰς πόλεις**. — **οὐδεὶς μὴ εὑρη** = **οὐ μή τις εὕρη**. For **οὐ μή** w. subj. cf. G M T. 294, 295; H. 1032; G. 1360; Cu. § 620.

§ 247. **τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν**, by promises and bribes to those in power.

Cf. note § 45. — τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων, of the deeds done in this department; i. e. as κύρος and ἡγεμὼν τῶν δυνάμεων. — τῷ διαφθαρῆναι, in the matter of being bribed by money or not. — τῷ διαφθ. is dat. respect. — ὁ ὀνούμενος, the bidder. — τὸ κατ' ἐμέ: the logic is clear: by two means Philip conquered, sc. arms and bribery. But with arms I had nothing to do, and as to bribery, I proved myself incorruptible; ergo, the defeat of the city is chargeable to me neither in this nor in that.

IV. §§ 248–290. DEMOSTHENES DEFENDS HIS POLICY AGAINST THE CHARGE OF BEING UNFORTUNATE; COMPARES THE FORTUNE OF ATHENS WITH THAT OF OTHER STATES, AND HIS OWN FORTUNE WITH THAT OF Aeschines; AND FINALLY APPEALS FOR VINDICATION OF HIS POLICY TO THE INDORSEMENT OF THE PEOPLE AFTER THE BATTLE OF ChÆRONEA.
 'Α μὲν: relat. clause precedes for the sake of emphasis. — τοῦτον: Ctesiphon.
 ταῦτα: wh. have been enumerated. — ὑμεῖς, sc. παρέσχεσθε εἰς τὸ, κ. τ. ἐ.
 — τὴν μάχην: of Chæronea. — θαυμαστὸν ἦν, when it would not have been at all surprising, if the multitude had become disaffected towards me. For θαυμαστὸν ἦν cf. note on ἔξηρκει, § 196. — πρῶτον μὲν: fearing an immediate attack fr. Philip, the Athenians placed their city in a state of defence w. all possible speed. Read the graphic account given by Lycurgus in his speech against Leocrates, §§ 39–44, of the state of feeling at Athens in consequence of the defeat at Chæronea. — πάνθ'...διὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ψ.: an inexcusable exaggeration. The proposal to place the Peiræus in a state of defence, to make the Meties citizens, to set free a portion of the slaves, to restore to citizenship those who had lost their political rights, to bring the women and children to the Peiræus for safety, was made by Hyperides the orator. — τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρ.: the hasty and tumultuous preparations of defence described by Lycurg. l. c. are meant, for wh. a special contribution seems to have been made. Cf. §§ 171, 312. — σιτώνην, grain commissioner. Special commissions were appointed in time of war and of unusual scarcity to procure an extra importation of grain.

§ 249. μετὰ ταῦτα: when the excitement had died away, and Philip had announced through Demades his friendly intentions. — συστάντων: without the art. to make it indefinite. — γραφᾶς, sc. παραβόμων, as appears fr. ἔννομα γράφειν in § 250. — εὐθύνας, complaints for maladministration. — εἰσαγγελίας: cf. note § 13. — τό γε πρῶτον, at first; the emphasis of γε indicates that they did later. The leaders of the Macedonian faction had to move cautiously, as there was still strong sympathy w. Dem. among the people. — ἐκρινόμην, I was brought to trial. — Σωστικλέους: nothing further than what is here mentioned is known of him nor of Μέλαντος. — Φιλοκράτους: not the same person as the one mentioned in § 21, but of Eleusis. — Διώνδου: cf. § 222. — τοινυν resumes the thought interrupted by the

long parenthesis. — **τοῦτο**, i. e. **τὸ δικαιῶς ἐμὲ σωθῆναι**. — **γνόντων τὰ εὑρκα**, gave a verdict in accordance with their oath.

§ 250. **τὸ μέρος**: cf. § 103. — **ἐπεσημαίνεσθε**, you were indorsing; lit. setting the seal upon, spoken of the logistæ. The force of the impf. in all these verbs must not be overlooked. — **οὐχ δ...τιθέμενον**, not that (name) which he saw the people affixing. — **δῆμον...δικαστάς...ἀλήθειαν**: correspond in their order to the different kinds of trial referred to by Dem. above; thus, the *εἰσαγγελία* was tried before the demus, the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* before the dicasts, and the *εὐθύνη* before the logistæ where the trial was an issue of fact.

§ 251. **τοῦ Κεφάλου**: a statesman who flourished at the time of the restoration of the democracy under Thrasybulus. He was instrumental in uniting Thebes and Athens during the Corinthian war. — **τὸ... φεύγειν**, but it was the honor of Cephalus that he was never indicted. — **μᾶλλον**, sc. **διὰ τοῦτο**: the sense is: why should a man who has never been convicted, but often been tried, on this account be held in reproach more justly than the man who has never been on trial? — **πρὸς γε τοῦτον**, as far as this man (Æsch.) is concerned. — **ἔγραψατό...ἔδιωξε**: the former verb denotes the act of bringing in the bill, the latter that of carrying it through the court. — **μηδὲν**, st. **οὐδέν**, because it is as the acknowledgment of Æsch. (not as the absolute fact) that he is in no respect a worse citizen. For the form of the neg. cf. G M T. 685.

§ 252. **ἔγω...ἡγοῦμαι...έτέρῳ**: this sentence passed into a proverb, and is found in the *Florilegium* of Stobæus. — **ἴν γάρ**: the relat. precedes the antecedent *ταῦτης*. By beginning the transl. w. *πῶς χρή*, κ. τ. ἔ., the student will make a clearer Engl. sentence. — **χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ**: cf. § 233. — **ἀνθρωπινώτερον**: the sense is with a more just notion of human life.

§ 253. **Δωδωναῖον**: the oracle of Zeus at Dodona was the most venerable of all the Greek oracles, although long ago superseded in influence by that of Apollo at Delphi. It may be that the orator purposely passes the Delphic oracle by from a suspicion of its truthfulness and patriotism, — a suspicion attributed to him by Æsch. in the words *φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πινθιαν φάσκων*. — **ἢ νῦν ἐπέχει**, which now prevails. — **τίς γάρ...πεπελάται**: at this time Thebes was in ruins, the recent uprising against Macedon in the Peloponnesus had been quelled by Antipater, and Alexander was in the midst of his conquests in Asia.

§ 254. **τὸ...ἀμεινον πράττειν**, and to fare better than. — **διάξειν**: in direct discourse the sentence would be: *ἐὰν προώμεθα...διάξομεν*. — **τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης**: partit. genit. Athens, though under the Macedonian yoke w. the rest of the Greek states, preserved its independence in affairs of home government much better than those Peloponnesian states (*τῶν οἰηθέντων...διάξεων*) that had stood aloof fr. the struggle against Philip. —

τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι, and that there were reverses; the sentence is the obj. of **μετεληφέναι**, wh., like **μεταδίδωμι** and **μετέχω**, may be followed by the accus. as well as by the partit. genit. — **τὸ μέρος**: in appos. w. the preceding infinitives; as that portion of the fortune of the rest of mankind which has been allotted to us.

§ 255. **ἰδίαν...ἐν τοῖς ιδίοις**, personal...in personal affairs; not in public matters. This is in reply to the charge of Aesch. that the misfortunes of the state were partly due to the ill-starred fortune of Dem.—**ὑπήν**, sc. δοκεῖν fr. δοκῶ. Inferior MSS. add συνδοκεῖν. — **δὲ**, in contrast w. ἔγω μὲν. — **κυριωτέραν**, paramount to; i. e. more effective for weal or woe.

§ 256. **πάντως**, altogether, at any rate; modifies the idea of **προαιρεῖ** ἔξετάξειν. — **μου πρὸς Δίὸς**: the same order is found in § 199. — **ψυχρότητα**, folly, Lord B.; bad taste, Kenn.; coldness, indifference, L. and Sc.; ungenerous feeling is the excellent rendering of Holmes, who explains the word as denoting “a lack of that human warmth of heart and sympathy which would naturally produce great tenderness of word and deed towards the unfortunate.” — **προπηλακέει**: cf. **προπηλακισμὸν**, § 12. — **ἀναγκάζομαι**: the orator makes the same excuse in § 126. — **ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων**, under the existing circumstances; lit. out of the things possible, i. e. as material.

§ 257. **τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα**, it was my lot to attend respectable schools when I was a boy; in distinction fr. the schools attended by his rival. A Greek school education, as described by Plato *Protag.*, p. 325, consisted of (1) γράμματα = language spoken and written; (2) literature, or the study of authors; (3) music, including rhythm; (4) εὐκοσμία = good principles and proper behavior. Before **τὰ προσήκοντα** all MSS. except Σ and L. have μὲν ὅντι φοιτᾶν εἰς = to attend upon; this reading may have arisen fr. the desire to obviate the harshness of the constr. that joins ὑπῆρχεν first w. a subst. and then w. an infin. (**ἔχειν**). — **δσα...ἐνδειαν**: the father of Dem. left property to the value of 14 talents. How dishonestly this estate was administered by the guardians of Dem., so that but a small fraction of it fell to him as inheritance, we learn fr. his speech against *Aphobus*, I., §§ 4–11. — **ἔξελθόντι**, i. e. when he became an **ἔφηβος**. — **ἀκόλουθα τούτοις**, in keeping with these (mij) circumstances. — **χορηγεῖν**, to act as choragus. See Dict. Antiq. Dem. is known to have been *choragus* in 350 b. c., when the difficulty w. Midias occurred. Cf. Orat. c. *Mid.*, § 13. — **τριηραρχεῖν**: cf. note § 102. The duties of *trierarch* were performed by Dem. several times: once in the Eubœan war (357 b. c.); cf. § 99. His guardians had him enrolled in the *first class*, and he was for 10 years ἡγεμὼν συμμορias. Cf. §§ 102, 103. — **εἰσφέρειν**, to contribute. Notum est dici de tributo extraordinario ad belli necessitates. Diss. — **φιλοτιμίας**,

acts of liberality, Kenn.; *Freigebigkeit*, Jacobs. Two such *acts of generosity* are alluded to in § 268. — **πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ** = upon public life. — **πολλάκις ἐστεφανώσθαι**: cf. §§ 83, 120, 222. — **καλά γ',** honorable at least; however disastrous the result may have been. “Dem. never forgets his leading distinctions.” LARNED.

§ 258. **ἄν** **ἔχων** = **ἄν** **ἔχομεν**: cf. note § 96. The partic. w. concessive force occurs without **ἄν** in §§ 138, 264. — **φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσαλ** = **φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσαλ**. Cf. G M T. 374. — **σεμνύνομαι**: here used w. **ἐν**, but in § 259 w. **ἐπει**. The antec. of **οὗ** may be understood as **τοῖς πράγμασι**. — **σεμνυνόμενος**: this word is repeated w. a certain degree of bitterness. — **ποιὰ τινὶ**, what sort of *a*; the addition of **τινὶ** adds to the indefiniteness of the question. W. remarks that this entire passage now following, as well as that contained in § 129, is to be regarded as the revenge of Dem. for his rival's similar attack upon him. (Cf. Æsch., § 171 ff.) We could wish that the orator's revenge had been, instead of this, a dignified and contemptuous silence. — **τρίβων**: the ink was probably prepared, like our India ink, by rubbing from a cake. — **οἰκέτου, κ. τ. ἔ.**, having the rank of *a menial, not of a gentleman's son.*

§ 259. **τελούση**, engaged in the rites of initiation. The allusion is to the celebration of Orphic-Bacchic mysteries of Phrygian origin, wh., though under the public ban, had gained at that time considerable foothold in Greece, owing to the prevalent taste for semi-religious excesses. The deity who was worshipped in these rites was Sabazius or Sabadius, the son of Rhea or Cybele, who in later times was identified w. Dionysus Sabazius. Cf. Aristoph. *Ar.*, 875. — **βίβλους**: Plato *Republ.*, II. 7, speaks of the large number and extensive influence of soothsayers and priests, who carried about with them *volumes of oracular sayings and formulæ of consecration*, wh. they pretended came from Orpheus and Musæus. — **νεβρίζων**, wrapping in fawn-skins (se. the novitiates). — **κρατηρίζων** is defined by Phot. *Lex.* as *οἶνον ἀπὸ κρατήρων ἐν τοῖς μωστηροῖς σπένδων*. — **ἀπομάττων** is explained by Wyttenbach (ad Plut. *de Superstit.*, p. 166) as follows: “*Lustrationis pars erat ut corpus lustrandum circumlineretur et quasi circumpinseretur imprimis luto [πηλῷ], tum abstergeretur [πιτέροις], quorum illud est περιμάττειν hoc ἀπομάττειν, sed utrumque promiscue de tota lustratione dicitur.* — **ἀνιστάς**: the candidate seems to have been in a lying or sitting posture during the process of purification. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.*, 255. — **ἔφυγον, κ. τ. ἔ.**: a formula wh. signified that one had passed into a new life. It was used also in certain nuptial ceremonies.

§ 260. **φθέγγεσθαι μέγα**: Æsch. seems to have had good lungs and a fine voice, wh., if we may credit Dem. (cf. §§ 280, 285, 313), he used not without ostentation. — **καλοὺς**: ironical. — **τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ**: the

fennel plant possessed the property of charming serpents; the *white poplar* was believed to grow in Hades, and served as a symbol of life and death. Harpocr. *Lex.* says that those initiated in the Bacchic mysteries were crowned w. the white poplar, because Dionysus was a θεὸς χθόνιος. — τοὺς παρεῖας, squeezing the puffy-cheeked snakes; so called fr. their large puffy cheeks (*παρεία*); they were thought to be harmless. Cf. *Etym. Magn.*, 653; Aristoph. *Plut.*, 690. The use of serpents in the Bacchic services is alluded to also by Eurip. *Bacch.*, 697. — εὐοὶ σαβοῖ, *Euoī Saboi!* a Bacchic exclamation, whose origin grammarians give variously: εὐοῖ fr. εὐ οἱ, εὖ σοι, εὖ οἱ (μύσται), εὖ νιέ; σαβοῖ fr. σαβός (= βάκχος) = one who has been initiated into the mystery of Σαβάζιος, the Phrygian βάκχος. — ὕης ἀττῆς, *Hyes Attes!* ὕης is generally taken as simply an exclamation w. ἀττῆς, and ἀττῆς as an equivalent of Σαβάζιος. The name "Αττῆς" is found in Pausan., VII. 17, § 5. The whole is supposed to be the opening or the refrain of a Bacchic street chorus, that was accompanied by dances and contortions of the body. — ἔξαρχος, *leader of the choir, chorister.* — προηγεμὼν, *leader of the procession, marshal.* — κιττοφόρος, *adorned with ivy;* Attic for κιστοφόρος. The ivy was sacred to Dionysus. This is the MSS. reading; but Reiske, Bekk., Taylor, and others follow Harpocr., Suid., Phot., and read κιστοφόρος = *bearer of the chest* (wh. contained the sacred utensils). V. contends that it is improbable that the same person should be both κιστοφόρος and λυκνοφόρος if they mean different things, and that both words should be used if they mean the same thing. — ἐνθρυπτά, *sops;* acc. to Photius they were bits of bread sopped in wine and sprinkled over w. pulse. — στρεπτούς, *twists* (*στρέψω*). — νεήλατα were, acc. to Harpocr., *fresh-ground barley-cakes* dipped in honey and studded w. raisins and chick-peas.

§ 261. ὁπωσδήποτε = *quocumque modo*; implying that it was in a way anything but creditable. Cf. note § 130. The enrolment in the register of citizens was made at the expiration of the 17th year of one's age. — γραμματεύειν: cf. §§ 162, 209. — τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις, *the petty officials.* — ἀπηλλάγης: by the choice of this word he wishes to imply that it was a *hard* and *disagreeable* service to wh. Aesch. had been bound. — τῷ...βλῷ, *by your subsequent career.*

§ 262. τοῖς βαρυστόνοις, *nicknamed the groaners;* probably fr. their ridiculous overacting of the pathetic. — Σιμύλω: Demochares in *Vita Aesch.*, p. 246, mentions the fact that Aesch. wandered w. these strolling players through the land and appeared on "the provincial boards" in the celebration of the rural Dionysia. — ἐτριταγωνιστεῖς: cf. § 129. — συλλέγων, *gathering from the orchards of others, just as a fruit-huckster.* The country Dionysia occurred at the time of the vintage. Aesch. is represented here, acc. to

one view, as going about the country gathering up fruit, either as a thief or as a beggar; acc. to another view, as picking up fr. the stage the fruit w. wh. the audience pelted him and his associates for their poor acting. If the latter view is correct, it is difficult to see what ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρ. χ. refers to, since it is wholly superfluous w. διπωρώντς. — πλειω λαμβάνων: the sense is obscure. Most critics understand these words to mean that Aesch. harvest of fruit was greater than his earnings as an actor, τῶν ἀγώνων referring to the *dramatic contests in which you (the actors) were engaged at the peril of your life*. By taking ἀγώνων to refer to contests between the spectators and the actors the gloss τραύματα after τούτων, wh. is omitted by Σ alone, crept into the text. Others understand the allusion to be to the blows received by him as a vagrant in the orchards. But Dem. would not say: "you received more blows from this calling than from your acting," when he states immediately afterward that they acted at the peril of their life. Professor Tyler seems to combine the two interpretations, as if the orator used an intentional ambiguity: "the result was that they got more (both kicks and coffers) in this way, than from acting in the plays." — δσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος: in explanation of περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. The war was *without truce*, i. e. *unceasing*; and *without herald*, i. e. *implausible*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, III. 3. 5. — τραύματα alludes to the showers of stones, fruit, and other missiles sent by the audience for his wretched acting. This is more fully described by Dem. in *de F. L.*, § 337: ὅτε μὲν τὰ θνέστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἡγωνίζετο, ἔξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἔξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελείψετε οὔτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστῶν ἀποστῆναι. — ὡς δελλοὺς: with reference to the reproach of cowardice that Aesch. brings repeatedly against him.

§ 263. ἀλλὰ γάρ: cf. § 211 and note. — πρὸς αὐτῷ...κατηγορήματα, I shall proceed to consider step by step the actual charges against your character. — ποτε, at last: "continuing the taunt that Aesch. was long excluded fr. political life by his low origin and occupations." HOLMES. — λαγὼ βίον ἔχης, *you led the life of a hare*; a proverbial expression for a life of anxious fear and timidity.

§ 264. χιλίων...ἀποθανόντων: Lycurg. c. Leocr., § 142, and Diod., XVI. 88, state that a thousand Athenians fell in the battle of Chaeronea, and that two thousand were taken prisoners. — τῶν ζόντων contains an implied contrast to ἀποθανόντων. — ἀν δεξαιμεῖ: potent. optat.; cf. note on ἀν ἔχοι, § 16. — εὐχερῶς, recklessly. — δσα...ἐστιν: how diff. fr. δσα ἀν γ; Cf. G M T. 525; H. 914; G. 1430.

§ 265. τὰ σοι κάμοι βεβιωμένα, lit. *the things lived by you and by me*. Cf. § 130. — ἔδιδασκες...πατρίδος: this passage was regarded by the ancient rhetoricians as a model of antithesis. But Demetrius *de Elocut.*, § 250, finds

fault w. the number of balanced sentences ; he thinks the effect of the contrast is weakened by so many antithetic parts, and the entire passage shows more artifice than earnestness. In sharp and severe outline Dem. sums up the career of his rival in its five leading points : (1) as assistant to a pedagogue (§ 258); (2) as helper in the initiations (§§ 259, 260); (3) as clerk (§ 261); (4) as actor (§ 262); (5) as statesman (§ 263). Most Editt. have ἔχορενες, ἐγώ δ' ἔχορίγουν after ἑτελούμην ; but this sentence is found neither in Σ., L., nor in the oldest rhetoricians. — ἑτελεις...ἑτελούμην : the antithesis becomes clear when we understand ἑτελεις of the disreputable Sabazian mysteries and ἑτελούμην of the sacred Eleusinian mysteries. Kenn. quotes fr. Milton's *Apology for Smeectymnuus* the following imitation : "Speaking of the young divines and students at college, whom he had so often seen upon the stage acting before courtiers and court ladies, he (Milton) proceeds thus : 'There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars I was a spectator ; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools ; they made sport, and I laughed ; they mispronounced, and I mimicked ; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hissed.' "

§ 266. τὸ δὲ...ἀνωμολόγημα, and it has been admitted that I have done no wrong whatever. τὸ ἀδικεῖν is the accus. retained w. the pass. constr. — συκοφάντῃ : for the constr. cf. note on τοιούτοις, § 128. — κινδυνεύεις, κ. τ. ἐ., and you are in danger either of being obliged to continue to do this (i. e. act the part of slanderer, since Aesch. to be consistent must play his rôle to the end, must not stop, therefore, with gaining this suit) or of being forthwith silenced, by losing this suit. Thus, the orator means to say, Aesch. must be in either case the loser. — τὸ πέμπτον : cf. note § 103. — ἀγαθῆ γε : notice the ironical force of γε. — οὐχ ὁρᾶς : cf. § 232. — τῆς ἔμῆς : the comm. reading adds ως φαύλης, wh., as Voem. justly remarks, weakens the force of the sentence, for no one τύχης κατηγορεῖ ως ἀγαθῆς.

§ 267. τῶν λειτουργῶν : such as are enumerated in § 257. — ἀναγνῶ, let me read, although below he says λέγε ; but it is well known that what one orders another to do, he may be said to do himself. — μοι = I pray thee ; the ethical dat. Cf. note § 178. — ἀλυμαίνου, used to murder. Cf. § 180. We speak of murdering the king's English. — ήκω...πύλας : the beginning of the Hecuba of Euripides. πύλας is governed by λιπών in the next verse, wh. reads : λιπών, in "Λιδῆς χωρὶς φύσισται θεῶν. Aesch. had personated in this play the shade of Polydorus as *tritagonist*. — κακαγγελεῖν is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. This iambic verse is from an unknown tragedy. — κακὸν κακῶς : an instance of paronomasia ; cf. § 11, and the Latin *malos male perdere*.

§ 268. τοιοῦτος, sc. ήν ἐγώ. — κοινὸς, sc. εἰμι, I am public-spirited. A similar omission of the first pers. of this verb occurs in Dem. *Lept.*, § 55,

where ἔσμέν is to be supplied. — ἐλυσάμην: Dem., acc. to *de F. L.*, § 169 ff., ransomed a number of Athenians who had been taken prisoners in the Olynthian war. — συνεξέδωκα, joined with any (sc. the poorer of the citizens) in portioning their daughters. Every bride must bring her husband a marriage dower; the poor obtained it by the generous contributions of their richer friends. — οὕτε...οὐδέν, join w. ἀν εἰποιμι. In this category might be placed contributions to defray burial expenses, and to buy military outfits for the poor.

§ 269. ἔγώ...τῷ ὄνειδίζειν: the same just sentiment is given by Cic. *de Amicit.*, XX. 71, as follows: “Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobantium, quae meminisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit.” — ποιήσαντα, sc. εὖ, wh. is found in most MSS. — τὸν μὲν means τὸν εὖ παθόντα; τὸν δὲ refers to τὸν ποιήσαντα. — μικροῦ...ὄνειδίζειν, is almost like reproaching one. — προαχθήσομαι, sc. ποιεῖν. — δπως ποθ', κ. τ. ἔ., but in whatever way I have been regarded as respects these things, I am content.

§§ 270, 271. ἀπαλλαγέis, having escaped from; as if from some unpleasant thing. Cf. ἀπηλλάγης, § 261. — ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον, i. e. the world of the Greeks. — ἀθῶσ, unsweated by. — νῦν, i. e. in the year 331–330 b. c. Cf. note § 253. — τὴν ἐμὴν...βούλει: a similar turn of expression is found in § 20. — πάντων αἰτίαν: αἰτίαν is not found in Σ, and is, therefore, rejected by V. and W. But this word seems necessary to the sense. Dem. is refuting the notion, so persistently declared by his rival, that his personal fortune was answerable for the misfortunes of the country, and his argument runs thus: you cannot name any one who has not been injured by Philip or Alexander; but among those who have been thus injured there are many who have never seen me nor heard my voice. Can I be the cause of their misfortunes? How much more just, then, is it to say that our misfortunes and theirs are attributable to a common cause (sc. τὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων τύχην καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπήν), than to call my fortune the cause of all, i. e. of all the evil that has come upon the Greeks and Barbarians. Voem. and West. render: *I concede that my fortune, whether you please to call it good or ill, has become the fortune of all (men).* But how that follows fr. the supposition εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, κ. τ. ἔ., I do not see. — φοράν τινα...οὐχ οἴαν ἔδει, a certain irresistible and deplorable tide of troubles. Some take φοράν here in the sense of *crop* or *harvest*, as in § 61.

§ 272. παρὰ τουτοισ, among these; i. e. my fellow-citizens, as distinguished fr. πολλοὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων, κ. τ. ἔ., above. — καὶ εἰ μή, even if not. — αὐτοκράτωρ, e. g. like Philip. Cf. § 235.

§ 273. ἀεὶ...προύτιθει σκοτεῖν, and at all times the city proffered the opportunity in common (sc. to all) to consider her advantage. — πᾶσι...βέλτιον:

this taunt is not fair. Aesch. and his party were outvoted and had to submit to what they could not prevent ; their approbation they did not give. — **ταῦτ**: the measures proposed by Dem. — **οὐ γάρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ, κ. τ. ἐ.**, for it was not out of good-will, certainly, that you relinquished to me, etc.; i.e. you did not give up these in order that I might have them. — **ἐλπίδων, hopes, prospects of reward.** — **ἡττώμενος, because you were compelled.** — **λέγειν βέλτιω**: cf. *εἰπεῖν βέλτιον* above. This change of tense and number gives variety. Which of these forms of expression has more reference to the nature and contents of the action? — **νῦν ἔγκαλῶν...τότ' οὐκ εἶχες**: how and where has the orator made this point before? Cf. §§ 188, 196, 217. It is the characteristic of a good orator to impress an important point by frequent yet ever-varying repetition.

§ 274. **ἔγωγ**, *I for my part see*; however oblivious of these principles my opponent may be. — **πῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, such principles as these somehow defined and laid down.** — **ἀδικεῖ τις ἔκών**: former examples of this hypothetical form of statement are found in §§ 117, 198. — **ὅργην καὶ τιμωρίαν ...συγγνώμην**, sc. διωρισμένας ὥρ. — **οὔτ' ἀδικῶν τις, κ. τ. ἐ.**: transl. in this order : *tis...oūs...oū kaītōr̄thōsē...oūt'...oūt'*. The partic. ἀδικῶν, ἔξαμαρτάνων are placed at the beginning so as to connect this *third* category more closely w. the *two* preceding. — **οὐ κατώρθωσε**, failed in common with all. On the distinction between ἀτυχήματα, ἀμαρτήματα, ἀδικήματα, cf. Aristot. *Ihet.*, I. 13. — **τῷ τοιούτῳ**: the addition of the art. makes the reference more specific = *such an one as this*.

§ 275. **τοῖς νόμοις**, *from the laws*. The distinction between *νόμοι* and *νόμιμοι* may be stated thus : *νόμος* = a positive, definite law or ordinance, generally written ; *νόμιμος* = a principle or rule that is founded upon custom or upon the moral sense of every human being. Cf. Soph. *Antig.*, 451 : *οἱ τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὥρισαν νόμους*. οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον φόμην τὰ σὰ κηρύγματα ὡς τὰ ἄγραπτα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα. Cf. also Plato *Legg.*, VII., p. 793; Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, § 70. — **ἥθεσι**: cf. note § 114. — **ἀτυχήματων**: misfortunes he imputes to me as crimes.

§ 276. **δῆτας μὴ παρακρούσομαι**: for the mode cf. G M T. 370; H. 887 a; G. 1379; Cu. § 533, Obs. — **δεινὸν**, skilful as a speaker, hence eloquent. So δεινότητα below = eloquence. Aesch. had named Dem. κακοῦργον σοφιστήν· τὸν γένητα καὶ βαλαντιοτέρον καὶ διατετμηκέτα τὴν πολιτείαν· δεινὸς δημουργὸς λύγων. — **ώς ἔάν...οὔτως ἔχοντα**, as though when, etc.,...then these statements must also be true. For the constr. cf. § 122.

§ 277. **τὴν...δεινότητα**: another instance of *aposiopesis*; cf. §§ 3, 22. The thought thus interrupted is resumed w. the words *el δ' οὖν...έμπειρα τοιαῦτη*. — **ἴστω γάρ**, nay, be it so. Let it pass that I am an orator; this imputation is, after all, a kind of proof that I am in sympathy w. the

public; ὡς γὰρ...ἀποδέξησθε, κ. τ. ἐ. — τὸ πλεῖστον, *for the most part, generally.* Some MSS. insert μέρος. — ὡς γὰρ...ἀποδέξησθε, *for, according as you may receive and feel kindly towards each.* For the subj. w. ἀν cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; G. 1431; Cu. § 114. — ξοξεῖ: why the aor.? Cf. G M T. 533; H. 840; G. 1394; Cu. § 494. This sentiment, that the audience controls the speaker, not the speaker the audience, is stated negatively in the *de F. L.*, § 340: “*Other powers are tolerably independent, but that of speaking is reduced to nothing when you who hear are opposed.*” The same important truth has been dwelt upon by all rhetoricians fr. Aristotle to Whately.—παρ’ ἔμοι: cf. § 110: παρ’ ἔκάστῳ τὸ συνεῖδος ὑπάρχειν μοι. — οὐδὲν ἴδια, *not even for my personal interest.* — τούναντλον, sc. εὐρήσετε ἔξεταξομένην. — τούτων: to be referred back to the collective *tis*, as in § 99.

§ 278. εἰσεληλυθότας, sc. τὰ δικαστήρια. — ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, *to require to secure to himself:* i. e. by condemning his opponent. — εἰσιέναι, *nor ought he to come before you, as a prosecutor.* — πράως...ἔχειν, *to have them (i. e. these feelings) mildly and moderately disposed.* — τὸν πολιτευόμενον.. τὸν ρήτορα: the former is one that takes an active part in public affairs, the latter more distinctively a speaker and advocate in the public assemblies. For the repetition of the art. (*τὸν*) cf. note § 212. — ἐν οἷς...τῷ δῆμῳ, *et in quibus populo res est cum adversariis.* The full expression in Greek would be ἐν τούτοις ἀ πρὸς, κ. τ. ἐ. Cf. πρὸς δν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἄγων, § 235; Isoer. *Panegyr.*, § 12: ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τοιούτους...ἔστιν.

§ 279. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος...δίκην: here Dem. briefly reiterates the points more fully treated in §§ 12–16. — ἤκειν: subj. of ἔστι σημεῖον. The art. (*τὸ*) is used w. this infin. below. — συνεσκευασμένον, *having concocted.* — οὐδενὸς: neuter. — ἔμε αὐτὸν, more emphatic than ἔματεν, *me myself.* — ἐπὶ τόνδ', i. e. Ctesiphon. — καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακλαν, *involves even the sum of all baseness.* Most MSS. omit καὶ, and then νῦν...κακλαν forms a pentameter.

§ 280. λόγων...τιμωρίαν: for the same topic cf. § 226. — φωνασκίας: Aesch. practice in *eloquence* and his fine voice are derided also in § 308. And in *de F. L.*, § 336, Dem. says: ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πεφωνασκηκώς ἔσται. All this is by way of retort upon Aesch., who in *de F. L.*, § 157, speaks of Dem. voice as δξεῖαν καὶ ἀνέσιον. Yet how much pains Dem. took to cultivate his voice and delivery, Quintilian mentions, *Orat. Instit.*, XI., Chap. III., §§ 53, 130. — βουλόμενος: as indicating the motive. — τίμιον, *the thing to be valued.* — τόνος (*τείνω*), *the pitch of the voice.* Cf. ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν, § 291. — ἀν ἡ πατρίς, sc. μισῆ καὶ φιλῆ.

§ 281. ἐπ’ εὐνοᾳ, *based upon good-will.* — ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, sc. ἀγκύρας, *he is not moored by the same anchor as the multitude.* A common metaphor. So ἐπὶ δυοῖν ὄρμεῖν = *to have separate interests.* — οὐκούν, κ. τ. ἐ.: completes

the thought of the metaphor. — *ἴξαλπερον...τίδιον*, *nothing separate* (from the public) *nor personal* (as opposed to public interests).

§ 282. *εὐθέως...ἐπορεύοντο*: immediately after the battle of Chaeronea an embassy went fr. Athens to Philip, to treat for the release of the prisoners of war. At the head of this embassy was Demades (cf. § 285). His associates were Aesch. and Phocion. Cf. Grote, Chap. XC.; Plut. *Phoc.*, 16. — δε refers to Philip. — *πάντα χρόνον*: taken literally, this is an exaggeration, since Aesch. went on two embassies concerning the peace of Philocrates; he is to be understood, therefore (and doubtless he was so understood by his audience), as meaning *all the former time* since 346 B. C. — *ταύτην τὴν χρέαν*, *although he refused this service* (i. e. of going on an embassy to Philip). — *καταράται*: at the opening of each Assembly it was customary for the crier or herald to imprecate curses on the enemies of the state, and more particularly on those who plotted to overthrow the democracy and were bribed to betray their country into the hands of foreign foes. Cf. Schöm. *de Comit. Athen.*, p. 92. Cf. § 130. — *οὐπός* = *τοιοῦτος*, wh. is the reading of many MSS.

§ 283. *οὐ μεμνήσθαι*: why not μή? Cf. G M T. 594; H. 1024; G. 1451 last part; Cu. § 617, Obs. 1, 2. — *ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ*: in contrast with *μετὰ τὴν μάχην*, § 282. — *τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην*, *this charge*, sc. of holding friendly relations with Philip.

§ 284. *προσεποιοῦ...όνόματα*: cf. §§ 51, 52. “The repetitions, the enforcement again and again of the same point, are a distinguishing feature of Demosth., and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox’s great eloquence.” Lord. B. — *τυμπανιστρίας*: the ceremonies described in § 259 were accompanied with the beating of drums and cymbals. — *ξένος...φίλος...γνώριμος*: the thought is presented in the form of a climax, as each of these terms expresses less than the one next preceding: guest-friend, friend, acquaintance. — *εἰλημένος...γεγονὼς*, *although you yourself have been thus openly apprehended as a traitor, and although you have become, etc.* — *ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσι*: cf. note § 197. — *μᾶλλον*, sc. ή ἐμέ, as is easily understood fr. the connection. Many MSS. add these words; an addition that, coming after so many long syllables, would mar the rhythm of the sentence.

§ 285. *Πολλὰ...ἡμνημόνησεν*: the connection between this sentence and what immediately precedes is so loose, as to lead Dohræus to strike out this and to connect *σημεῖον* δε directly w. the last sentence of § 284, making the sense: *σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἐμὲ τῶν κακῶν αἰτίον εἶναι*. But the connection as it stands, though not very close, seems clear enough: “I was not the author of the evil he charges upon me, but of much good; and here is the proof that the people so regarded me.” — *χειροτονῶν...έροῦντ'*: the custom of pronouncing eulogies upon those who fell in battle was a later addition to the public funeral rites with wh. they were honored (cf. Thuc., II. 35),

dating probably fr. the close of the Persian wars. Cf. Diod., XI. 33. Specimens of such funeral orations are the famous one of Pericles, given by Thuc., II. 35–46; that found in Plato's *Menexenus*; the ἐπιτάφιος τοῖς Κορυνθίων βοηθοῖς, attributed to Lysias; and an ἐπιτάφιος, attributed to Dem. The choice of an orator was made by the people, the Senate having only the right to nominate (*προβληθέντα*). — Δημάδης: an orator of consummate ability, regarded by some as a match for Dem. himself (cf. Quint., *Instit. Orat.*, II. Chap. 17, §§ 12, 13; Plut. *Dem.*, 8, 10). He was also a man without principle and a notorious partisan of Philip, described by Plut. *Phoc.*, I., as νανάγιον τῆς πόλεως. As prisoner of war at the battle of Chaeronea he secured the favor of Philip, and became the agent of the peace (ἀρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν ειρήνην) that bears his name. Cf. Diod., XVI. 87. — Ἡγήμονα: a member of the Macedonian party and a self-educated orator. Aesch. c. *Cles.*, § 25, mentions him as the author of a law w. reference to the Theoric fund enacted soon after the battle of Chaeronea. Hegemon and Pythocles were put to death together w. Phocion, five years after the death of Alexander the Great. — Πυθοκλέους: at first a friend of Dem., he became later the hireling of Philip. Cf. *de F. L.*, §§ 225, 314. — ἔτ' ἀμεινον, etiam luculentius et studiosius Diss.

§ 286. αὐτοί, i. e. ὁ δῆμος (§ 285). — δ...ταῦτ': a common inversion of the order of relat. and antec. clause. — ὡμολογήσατε, *this you acknowledged in the misfortunes of the state*; referring to their sympathy and friendship w. Philip, as at the beginning of § 284. — οὖν, accordingly; as the natural inference fr. such conduct. — ὅν ἐφρόνουν...ἀδειαν, *they (the people) had the opinion that those who found in the public disasters security for the free utterance of their sentiments* (lit. freedom from fear on account of what they thought, or, as some think, on account of what they purposed) *had been their enemies long ago, but at that moment had become such manifestly.*

§ 287. εἴτα καὶ προσήκεν, *in the next place to be fitting also.* — ὑπολαμβάνοντες...τούτο δ' ἔώρων: an *anacoluthon*, δέ being used as if a verb st. partic. preceeded. So in Xen. *Anab.*, VI. 6. 16: χαλεπὸν, εἰ οἱόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνον καὶ τιμῆς τείχεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ δημοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσθμεθα. Inferior MSS. change into ὑπελάμβανον. — δικαιόσπονδον: deriv.? *Should not have sat under the same roof or at the same table with.* Kenn. Pabst renders by *Haus- und Tischgenosse*. — ἐκεῖ: at the court of Philip. — κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν: Dem. *de F. L.*, § 128, says: οὗτος (sc. Αἰσχύλης) εἰς τάπινίκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φιλιππος ἔθνον, εἰστιάτο ἐλθών καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν, δις ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεστι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν εὔχετο ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνιζε Φιλιππῷ καὶ φιλοτησίᾳ προσπινεν. Theopompus, as cited by Athenaeus, X. 435, states that after

the battle of Chæronea Philip invited the Athenian envoys to dine with him. Cf. note § 282. — **τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν**: the idea is that he assumed a *pathetic tone*. — **ὑποκρινομένους**, *acting a part*. Cf. § 15. The plur. is used so as to include in the allusion Demades, Hegemon, and Pythocles, besides Aesch. ίμιν, ίμᾶς below have the same reference.

§ 288. **οἱ...αιρεθέντες**: an attributive clause, hence the repetition of the article. — **ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς**: an abridged expression = **ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ταφῶν παρασκευήν**; so § 312, **εἰς τὴν ἐπιτύμαν** = **εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιτύμας ἀνάληψιν**. The relatives of the deceased formed a sort of committee of arrangement for the funeral ceremonies, the closing act of wh. was the *περίδειπνον* or *νεκρόδειπνον*. Cf. Dict. Antiq. sub Funus. — **ἄλλως πῶς**: supply a verb like *ἐποίησαν*, as w. *οὗτως* above. — **ώς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ**: cf. § 246. — **ώσπερ τἀλλ' εἰωθεῖ**, i. e. to make the funeral feast at the house of the nearest relative. Cf. Lucian *de Luctu.*, C. 24. — **κοινῇ**: as opposed to *γένει*. The sense is this: the statesman who labors for the welfare of all the citizens stands more nearly related to all than any other individual citizen; each individual mourns over his own kin, but *his* grief is for all alike. — **φ...διέφερεν**: *διαφέρειν* is used here like the Latin *interesse* w. the dative. — **ἢ μή ποτ' ὥφελον**, sc. *παθεῖν*: what kind of a wish? Cf. G M T. 734; H. 871 a; G. 1512, 1513; Cu. § 515.

§ 289. **ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ**: the monument erected over the ashes of those who fell at Chæronea is mentioned by Pausanias, I. 29. 13, as situated in the outer Cerameicus, on the road to the Academy. Such monuments bore inscriptions (*ἐπιγράμματα*) wh. contained, besides the names of those buried, some poetic commemoration of their bravery and patriotism. The inscription before us is of unknown origin, is not found in Σ and several other MSS., contains many irregularities of diction, and is altogether so unsatisfactory, that almost all critics believe it to be of later composition. — **εἰς δῆμον ἔθεντο σπλα,** *put their arms into the conflict*; an unusual expression; *θέσθαι σπλα* = generally *to stack arms, to lay down arms*. — **ἀπεσκέδασαν**: a poetical exaggeration as regards the result of the battle. So Lycurg. c. *Leocr.*, § 49, says: *εἰ δὲ δεῖ παράδοξον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δέ, νικῶντες ἀπέθανον*. — **μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος**: so read the MSS. Voemel, in an Ex-cursus, gives at least 15 different interpretations of this distich, of wh. the more important may be stated under these four heads: (1) Many recent Editt. accept Valckenaar's conjecture of *λήματος* for *δείματος*, and join both genitives w. *μαρν.* as genit. cause or price: *contending with bravery and courage*; or, retaining *δείματος*, understand it w. the Schol. as = *φόβου οὐ εἶχον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος*; or change the reading to *ἀρετῆ δίχα δείματος* = *virtute intrepida*; or read *ἀρετῆς κατὰ δείματος* = *virtute contra communem terrorem*. (2) Join *ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος* w. *ἔσάωσαν* = *they did not preserve*

their lives as the price of bravery and courage ; or read διὰ δείγματος = they did not, etc., through a display of bravery. (3) Take ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος as an exclamation = *O valor and courage !* or change to ἀρετῆς ὡ δείγματος = *O display of valor !* (4) Join ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος w. βραβῆ, the negat. clause οὐκ...ψυχάς being parenthetic and requiring the ἀλλὰ following. The regular order would be : μαρν. δ' (οὐκ ἔσάσσαν ψυχάς, ἀλλ') ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος...βραβῆ. A similar transposition in the order (called *Hyperbaton*) is found in Xen. *Hell.*, VII. 3. 7 : ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Τπάτην (οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμενατε, ἀλλὰ) ὄπότε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε. Acc. to this view the sense is : *these by their death proved what they were, whether brave men or cowards ; brave men, of course, for they all chose Hades as their common arbiter.* V. cites Lycurg. *c. Leocr.*, § 49, in support of this interpretation. — οὐνέκεν Ἐλλήνων must be taken closely w. the idea of ἀπέθανον that is contained in οὐκ ἔσάσσαν ψυχάς. — ξυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες : this is properly said of victors who impose the yoke upon the vanquished. Diss. renders it by *se subjicientes*. The idea would be more properly expressed by ὑπὸ ξυγὸν αὐχένα θέντες. — σώματα = *the bones*, for the bodies were burned upon the field of battle. — ήδε κρίσις : referring to what follows. — μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν...ἐπορεύεται : this distich has been variously understood. The two main interpretations are given : (1) The transl. acc. to the punctuation here adopted, wh. is that of Bekk., is : *to fail in nothing is of the gods, and to succeed in all things in life ; but from destiny no escape is allotted.* The sense of the entire passage then is this : these sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their country ; in that they lost their lives they met their μοῖρα, fr. wh. there is no escape anyway ; in that they failed of success they were not at fault, for success (*πάντα κατορθοῦν*, wh. is the positive side of μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν) is the gift of the gods. θεῶν is possess. genit., *it belongs to the gods*, hence is theirs to bestow. So Eschyl. *Septem.*, 625 : θεοῦ δὲ δῶρον ἔστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς. Notice how well this interpretation harmonizes w. the sentiment : τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, κ. τ. ἐ., §§ 192, 193. It also agrees, as we shall see, w. the application Dem. makes in § 290. (2) But Z., W., Dind., not to mention many more, punctuate after κατορθοῦν, join ἐν βιοτῇ w. what follows, and read thus : *to fail in nothing and to succeed in all things is the prerogative of the gods ; but in mortal life (i. e. to mortals) it is decreed in no wise to escape destiny.* Here the condition of the gods and of men is contrasted, and we should expect some such application as this : it must, therefore, occasion no surprise, if *we mortals* fail in our undertakings. But how different is the application wh. the orator makes below in οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ, κ. τ. ἐ., we shall presently see. To the many metrical translations already published of this epitaph, all of which follow in the last distich the *second* interpretation just given, I venture to add the following :—

*These for their country rushed into the fray,
And bravely kept the boastful foe at bay ;
Spared not their lives, but prizing honor's name,
Chose Hades judge of glory or of shame ;
For Hellas' sake, that far removed might be
Forevermore the curse of slavery.
And now guards well their sleep the fatherland,
Since this decree from Zeus shall ever stand :
'T is of the gods when all life's plans succeed,
But no escape from fate to mortals is decreed.*

§ 290. *ώς τὸ μηδὲν, κ. τ. ἐ.*, you hear, also in this very thing (epitaph), that the statement... attributes not to the statesman but to the gods the power of making those who contend successful. How the second interpretation of the last distich, the gods alone are successful, can be made to harmonize w. this application, it is difficult to see. — **πάντα κατορθοῦν**: most Editt. place a colon after the words, and thus make a harsh asyndeton in *οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ, κ. τ. ἐ.* — **τρέψειν**: a true optative. Cf. G M T. 721. I.; H. 870; G. 1507; Cu. § 514.

V. §§ 291—323. CONCLUSION. (a) §§ 291—293. THE FEELINGS EXHIBITED BY AESCHINES ON ACCOUNT OF THE CALAMITIES OF HIS COUNTRY. *ώς ἀν*, sc. *ἔχοι*: a similar ellipsis occurs w. *ὅπερ δ'* *ἀν*, § 197; *ώσπερ ἀν τρυπάνη*, § 298. — **λαρυγγίζων**, lit. straining his larynx, i. e. vociferating. — **τοῖς...ἀνιαροῖς**, in the distressful events that occurred. Cf. *δυσμεναλνων τοῖς κοιωῖς ἀγαθοῖς*, § 217.

§ 292. **τῆς πολιτείας**, the constitution. — **οὗτος**, sc. φάσκει. Aesch. professed in his speech great solicitude for the preservation of the ancient laws. — **καὶ εἰ**: cf. note § 272. — **τετάχθαι**, to range himself. — **πράγματα**, troubles. Dem. purposely uses a mild term; but Aesch., § 57, more strongly says: *τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην αἴτιον γεγενημένον*. — **ἀπὸ**: denotes the point of departure; not before but only from the adoption of my policy.

§ 293. **πραττομένη**: Schaeaf. remarks that the departure fr. the regular order, *τῇ πρ. ἀρχῇ*, throws the emphasis upon *ἀρχῇ*. Similar are *τὰς...βλασφημίας εἰρημένας*, § 126; *τὴν...ρώμην...ὑπάρχουσαν*, § 98. On the contrary, the regular attributive position of the partic. is found in *τῶν εἰργασμένων.. κακῶν*, § 142, where the emphasis falls on *εἰργασμένων*. — **τοῖς ἄλλοις** means the rest of the statesmen who may have received public rewards. — **εὐ οἴδ' ὅτι**: cf. note § 171. — **Ἐβλαπτε**: this he did by asserting that any single individual could make any such arrogant claim.

(b) §§ 294—296. AESCHINES IS CONSPICUOUS AMONG TRAITORS. **τι...**

ἐπιτιμῶ, *But why do I rebuke him for this, when, etc.* — **φιλιππισμόν** : Lord B. compares “Jacobinism.” Cf. § 176. The orator has probably in mind the passage fr. *Æsch.* cited on p. 100. — **ἐπ’ ἀληθείας** : cf. note § 17. — **ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου**, *taking out of the midst*, i. e. *leaving out of view*. The partic. is purposely left indefinite, agreeing w. the implied subject of *σκοπεῖσθαι*. Below he becomes more specific by the use of *εὑροιτ'*. — **ὡς ἀληθῶς**, *really*. Cf. *ὡς ἔτερως*, § 85. This *ὡς* is the same as that used w. expressions of comparison and the superlative, but is usually not translated before adverbs.

§ 295. **τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας**, *cives sue factionis*. Schaeff. Cf. note § 174. The historian Polybius, Vol. XVII. 14, criticises the unfairness of Dem. for including in the category of traitors all those public men who did not sympathize w. his policy of resistance to Philip; and he defends the persons here named on the ground that they availed themselves of the aid of Philip only for the benefit of their respective countries, not for their own aggrandizement. Most of these names are mentioned by Harpocration and Athenæus, who quote fr. the lost history of Theopompus, and in Plutarch’s *Lives of Dem., Alex., Phocion and Timoleon*. Cicero has imitated this passage in his oration against Verres.

§ 296. **μαροὶ**, κ. τ. ἐ. : Kenn. renders these epithets by *profligates*, *parasites*, *miscreants*. — **ἡκρωτηριασμένοι...προπεπωκότες...μετροῦντες** : Longinus praises the cumulative force of these metaphors. *ἡκρ.* = *having crippled*. Lord B. translates *προπ.*, *having toasted away*. *προπίνειν* = *to drink to something*; e. g. *Φιλίππω φιλοτηγσίας προσπίνειν*, *de F. L.*, § 128. But fr. the custom of bestowing the drinking-cup as a gift upon the person whose health was pledged (cf. *de F. L.*, § 139; Xen. *Cyr.*, VIII. 3. 35), this word came to signify *to give up recklessly*. So in *Olymth.*, III., § 22: *προπέποται τῆς παραυτικά χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα*. — **τὸ μηδένα...αὐτῶν** = *independence*. — **ἥσαν**: the plural by the attraction of the predicate nouns. — **ἀνατετραφότες**: a later form, the correctness of wh. is disputed by some who prefer **ἀνατετροφότες**.

(c) §§ 297–305. RECAPITULATION OF HIS OWN MERITS AND SERVICES, AS CONTRASTED WITH THE CONDUCT OF THESE TRAITORS. **συστάσεως...κακλας...προδοσίας** depend on **ἀνατίτος**. — **εἰ δει μὴ ληρεῖν**, *if one ought not to trifle*; i. e. if one ought in all earnestness to call things by their right names. — **διαφθαρέντων**: gen. absol. — **ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ**, lit. *beginning from you*, i. e. *with you at the head*.

§ 298. **ἔμὲ**: the emphatic position at the head of the sentence should not escape notice. — **φιλανθρωπία λόγων**, *blanda verba*. Diss. — **ὅμοιως ὑμῖν**: Dem. compares his opponents to the tongue of a balance, wh. readily turns to the side of the scale in wh. personal interests are laid as outweighing the interests of the state. — **ώσπερ ἄν**: cf. *ὡς ἄν*, § 291. Dem. employs the

same figure in his *Orat. de Pace*, § 12. — καὶ...τῶν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς, and standing at the head of the very weightiest interests of the men of my time, or, of weightier interests than any of my contemporaries. τῶν ἀνθρώπων is partit. genit. w. the attributive superlative, though the genit. belongs in idea to the subj. of the verb πεπολίτευμαι. Similar are ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα, § 65; ὥν...κράτιστα, § 320. — διὰ ταῦτ': this claim is as just as it is eloquent. The honesty of Dem. stands unquestioned, in spite of the aspersions of his enemies.

§ 299. δν...διέσυρες: for the language of Æsch. see the citation on pp. 125, 126. — μον: for this genit. cf. note § 28. — πόρρω μέντοι, κ. τ. έ., but, of course, I place these far below my political measures. — οὐ λίθοις, κ. τ. έ.: to bring out the rhetorical emphasis, follow the Greek order in translating. — οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις...φρονῶ, nor of my transactions do I pride myself most upon these. — πόλεις...τόπους...λιμένας: in §§ 230, 237, Dem. enumerates these allied states, friendly territories and harbors. — πολλοὺς is bracketed by some Editt. as an interpolation, and placed by others just before τοὺς ὑπέρ. With V. we may take it as belonging to both ἵπποις and τοὺς...ἀμυνομένοις (= ξένοις), since, in § 237, Dem. speaks of a large accession gained by himself of both cavalry and mercenary troops. — τούτων, the Athenians. — τοὺς...ἀμυνομένοις: taken substantively. With the sentiment of this passage may be compared the apothegm of Lycurgus found in Plut. *Lycurg.*, I. 9: οὐκ ἀν εἰη ἀτείχιστος πόλις ήτις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ πλινθοῖς ἐστεφάνωται. Wh. cites in illustration the well-known ode of Sir W. Jones, commencing: "What constitutes a state?"

§ 300. πρὸ, in front of, as a defence. — Πειραιῶς...τοῦ ἀστεως: these were enclosed by ramparts and fortifications of stone and wood, as contrasted w. τὴν χώραν, wh. was not protected in this way. ἀστεως is the usual Attic for ἀστεος. — τοῖς λογισμοῖς, in tactics; dat. of respect. Notice the emphasis of ἔγω as contrasted w. Φιλίππου. — τῷ τύχῃ: and yet, acc. to Diod., XVI. 88, the Athenians, after the battle of Chæronea, condemned Lysicles, their own general, to death, on the accusation of Lycurgus.

§ 301. οὐκ...προβαλέσθαι: the orator, having spoken of the general aim of his measures, now proceeds to particulars. The topics here presented have been treated before in §§ 230, 240, 241. — ἐκ θαλάττης: cf. note § 230. — τοὺς ὁμόρους, sc. Megara, Corinth, Achaia. — τὴν σιτοπομπίαν: cf. note § 87. For a similar anticipation in the construction cf. Dem. c. Conon, § 17: τὰς ἀναγκαῖας προφάσεις ὅπως μὴ μείζους γίγνωνται προεῖδοντο. — παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν, sc. χώραν, along a territory throughout friendly.

§ 302. τὰ μὲν...τὰ δ', some...others. — ὑπαρχόντων, and to preserve some of those belonging to our side; cf. note on ὑπάρχοντας, § 295. — τοιαῦτα, such things, i. e. as would preserve these allies. — Προκόννησον: this island

was in alliance w. Athens in 362, when it applied to the Athenians for aid against Cyzicus. — **Χερρόνησον**: cf. § 80. — **Τένεδον**: this island was important as commanding the entrance to the Hellespont. — **τὰ δ'**: obj. of *πρᾶξαι* and subj. of *ὑπάρξει*; in apposition w. it are the names following. — **Βυζάντιον**: cf. § 87. — **"Αβύδον**: Abydos was, acc. to Dem. *c. Aristocr.*, § 158, in constant enmity w. Athens. — **Εὐβοιαν**: the genuineness of this word has been suspected, because Eubœa has just before been mentioned as a part of the Attic fortifications. Here, however, Dem. is speaking of alliance. Cf. § 79; A. Schaeff., II. 396 ff., 457 ff. — **ἄν δ' ἐνέλειπε** = *ἀ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε*. Diss. The verb is impersonal.

§ 303. **καὶ...καὶ**, both...and. “The *καὶ* emphasizes the connection of *plan* and *execution*, for both of which the orator claims equal approval.” HOLMES. — **παρεθέντα**: Dem. disclaims any crime of *negligence*, of *ignorance*, of *treachery*. — **ἐλυμανετο...ἀνέτρεψαν**: the injury is represented as repeated or continued, the final act of destruction as momentary. The plural in *ἀνέτρεψαν* represents the various agencies named as operating *individually*, as well as collectively..

§ 304. **μόνον**, only. — **Θετταλία...Αρκαδία**: for the attitude of these states towards Athens cf. notes §§ 63, 64. — **ἐκέχρητ' ἀν**, would have experienced. Σ and L. read **ἐκέχρηντ' ἀν**, wh. V. and W. follow, changing *oúdeis* to *oúdēnes* to correspond.

§ 305. **ἄν ὄντες**: the *ἄν* gives a contingent force to the whole sentence, but is to be joined directly w. *φονον*. — **τῶν** is added to these pronouns to give them a more definite reference: *so many and such blessings as these just mentioned*. The boast that Dem. here makes was really well founded, and seems to be justified by the following sentiment, wh. is said to have been inscribed upon the pedestal of a statue erected to his memory at Athens:—

Ἐπερ ἵσην φώμην γνώμην, Δημόσθενες, εἰχει,
Οὕποτ' ἀν Ελλήνων ἡρξεν "Αρης Μακεδών.

— **πολλὰ...ἐλάττοσι χρῶματι**, that I make use of statements falling far short of the facts. — **λέγε...καὶ ἀνάγνωθι**: a similar coupling of these words is found in § 28, where see note. — **ταῦτι**: the reference is uncertain, owing to the confused condition of the text. The Editt. of Z. reject the addition *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα*, wh. is found in most of the MSS., and understand *ταῦτι* to refer to certain *ψηφίσματα*. Σ has for the title of the omitted document or documents: **ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΜΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ**; but all the other MSS. (quod sciam) have **ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ**. From the connection we infer that Dem. calls for the reading of such documents as would show how much Athens had done to assist other states in their efforts to retain their freedom against the machinations of Philip.

(d) §§ 306–313. DEM. PLACES THE COWARDLY AND UNPatriotic CONDUCT OF Aesch. IN CONTRAST WITH HIS OWN. **δεῖ**: some critics conjecture **ἔδει** in exact response to the question put in § 301: *Tί χρῆν... ποιεῖν.* — **ῶν κατορθουμένων, κ. τ. ἐ.**, in the event of the success of which, we should beyond a doubt have been pre-eminently great, and justly so, too. For the genit. absol. used in place of condit. clause cf. note § 30. — **μεγίστους** agrees w. the implied indirect obj. (*ἡμῖν*) of *ὑπῆρχεν*. With *ὑπῆρχεν* and *προσῆν* many MSS. have **ἄντι**, wh., however, is not essential in such expressions; cf. note on *ἔξηρκει*, § 196. With *τὸ δικαῖως* supply *μεγίστους εἶναι* as subj. of *προσῆν*. — **ώς ἔτέρως**: a euphemism for *adversely*. Cf. §§ 85, 212. — **συμβάντων**: genit. absol., denoting concession. — **περίεστι**: whatever we may have lost, there is saved and left over to us from our loss *reputation and honor*.

§ 307. **οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ**: thus should the patriotic citizen act, and not, by Zeus, no, not, etc. — **τὸν... ὑποστάντα** is obj. of *βασκαίνειν*, and has depending on it *λέγειν*, *γράφειν*, *μένειν*. *ὑποστῆναι* = to put one's shoulders under the burden in contrast w. *ἀποστῆναι* above. — **μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων**, lit. to remain (resting) upon these; i. e. to abide by these. Cf. note § 17. — **ὑπουλον**, insidious. What is the metaphor? — **οὐδέ γέ**, and certainly not. The emphasis of *γέ* falls upon *ἥσυχιαν* as that of wh. he is to speak further. — **δ,** a thing which.

§ 308. **ἀπλῶς**, openly, honestly; as opposed to *ὑπουλον* above. — **μεστοι τοῦ... λέγοντος**, suited of the man who speaks incessantly. It seems that this was possible even in an Athenian Assembly! Dem. refers here to himself, as in those times he must have been unusually active in the debates. — **δύσκολον**, harassing; euphemistic, like *ἔτέρως*, § 306. — **πολλὰ δὲ τάνθρωπινα**, and many are the casualties of human life. Kenn. — **ώσπερ πνεῦμ'**, suddenly, like a gale after a calm, he comes out from his silence as a speaker. Tyler's edition remarks justly that *ἥσυχιας* must be taken in close connection w. *πνεῦμα*, the *ἐκ* being transitional, as in *τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκτός*, Soph. O. T., 454. *ἔφαντ* is the gnomic aor., the tense expressing the suddenness of the appearance. — **πεφωναστικῶς**, with well-trained voice. — **συνερει**, he strings these together clearly and without taking breath. Cf. notes § 280. — **τῷ τυχόντι**: to some one or other of his fellow-citizens.

§ 309. **ἐμποριου κατασκευήν**, arrangements for commerce; by obtaining foreign markets and entrepôts for Athens. — **ἀποδειχθεῖσιν**, undisguised.

§ 310. **τούτων... ἔξετασις**: the sense is, all this served as the test for patriotic conduct. — **τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις** means the earlier times of the Republic, in contrast w. *ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος*, the period just past. — **ἀποδείξεις**, opportunities to prove one's self. — **ἐν οἷς**, i. e. ἐν ἀνδράσι καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς, from the collective sense of ἀνδρὶ before. — **φανήσει γεγονὼς**, you will manifestly

have been. By the use of the future the speaker places himself in advance of his own time, and expresses the verdict that posterity will pronounce upon the character of Æsch. — ὄποστοσον, lit. the *any-eth whatever*. The part. οὖν corresponds to the Latin *-cunque*. — ἐπὶ γ' οἰς, κ. τ. ἐ., certainly not then connected with what advanced the interests of our country.

§ 311. οἰκεῖων: all the departments of public service are named here: *domestic, Grecian, foreign.* — ἐπηγάρθωται, *has been improved.* The addition of διὰ σέ in the Z. edition is wanting in the best MSS., weakens the sentence, and is superfluous in connection w. ἐπέστης and σοῦ πράξαντος. — ποῖα has a sarcastic force: *what sort of?* As predicate in all these questions we readily supply γεγόνασι σοῦ πράξαντος fr. the first sentence. A similar passage is found in Dinarch. c. Dem., § 96. On its rhetorical power Dissen remarks: “Est autem magna et insignis vis in hæ singularum rerum enumeratione et toties repetita interrogatio.” — τίς...βοήθεια χρημάτων, *what financial help of a political and public nature have you ever given either to the wealthy or to the poor?* “The poor were benefited by the alterations wh. Dem. effected in the regulations for the trierarchy; the rich by improvements in the administration of the revenues.” Wh.

§ 312. ὡς τᾶν = ὡς λῷστε; τᾶν is probably an old dialectic vocative of τύ or τόνη = σύ with ν, the old ending, originally μ of the first person, added. Cf. ἔγών. Dem. puts the following rejoinder in the mouth of his opponent: *well, but if I performed nothing of all this, yet I manifested the right spirit, did I not?* — Ἀριστόνικος: the same one mentioned in § 83. — εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν = εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀνάληψιν. Cf. note § 288. It appears that Aristonicus had fallen through insolvency into ἀτυπία, that to enable him to regain his lost rights of citizenship his friends made a collection for him, but that he expended for the benefit of the state the money thus contributed. — τῶν Φίλωνος...χρημάτων, *the property of Philo, your brother-in-law.* — πλειόνων, sc. ὅντων: some MSS. and many Editt. read πέντε ταλάντων; then χρημάτων is taken as a partit. genit. (*more than five talents of the property, etc.*), and it is to be inferred that Philo left an estate of extraordinary value. — ξρανον δωρεάν, *a present made by a joint contribution.* — τῶν ἡγεμόνων: cf. § 103. — ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω, *for the damage you did to the law of the Trierarchy.* Just in what way and when Æsch., as advocate of the wealthiest class, crippled this law, we have no data fr. wh. to determine.

§ 313. λόγον ἐκ λόγου, *by speaking of one thing after another.* — ἐκκρούσω, lit. beat or drive myself out of the present (opportunity). This he says with respect to the shortness of the time still left him for the remainder of his speech. — τούτοις οἷς: mase., meaning the Macedonians. — νεαρίας, *vigorous.* “Youth as the type of (1) *vigor* or (2) *violence* appears in the uses of νεαρίας and all its derivations, as the Lexica abundantly testify.” TYLER.

— **λαμπρός**, *brilliant*. When did you condescend to *shine*? The epithet may, however, be more directly applied to his voice, as below in *λαμπροφωνότατος*. — **ἥνικ' ἀν...δέη**, sc. *πράττειν*: many MSS. read *εἰπεῖν* either after *ἀν* or after *τούτων*. — **Θεοκρίνης**, acc. to Harpoer., was a *συκοφάντης*. Diss. explains the allusion thus: like this notorious informer and slanderer, Æsch. pretends to commiserate the fate of those who fell victims to his own intrigues; as e. g. when he deplores the fate of Thebes and of Phœcia.

(c) §§ 314–320. DEM. COMPARES HIMSELF AND ÆSCH. WITH THE PUBLIC MEN OF THE PRESENT AND OF FORMER TIMES. **μέμνησαι**: in addition to the citations fr. Æsch. given below, see also those given in connection w. § 208. — **τὴν...εὐνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν**: for the position of the partic. cf. note § 293. — **προλαβόντα**, *taking advantage of, turning to his own account*.

§ 315. **ὑπεστή**, *there is a certain lurking (ὑπό)*. — **τοὺς τεθνεῶτας**: the sentiment “Nil mortuis nisi bonum” finds abundant illustration in all literature. So Thuc., II. 45: *τὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ ὄντα ἄπας εἴωθεν ἐπανεῖν. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ξώσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀναταγνωστῷ εὐνοίᾳ τετμηται.* — **κρίνωμαι**: what use of the mood? Cf. G M T. 287; H. 866, 3; G. 1358; Cu. § 511.

§ 316. **οὐ μὲν...ἡλίκας**, *nay, then, one might not say just how great*; sc. these good services of former times were. — **τὰς ἐπὶ...ἄγειν**, *to subject those that are conferred upon the present generation to thanklessness and contempt*. *ἄγειν* implies that he would thus bring these good deeds out of their true, into a false light. For the prep. *ἐπὶ* Schaeff. conjectures *περὶ*, but others defend the use of *ἐπὶ* in the sense of *intended for, coming to*. (Cf. Funkhaenel in Fleckeisen *Aan. Phil.*, 1858, p. 320.) — **τούτων** is understood by some to refer to the Athenians (= *παρὰ τούτων*, as it is written in all but two MSS.); by others as neuter referring to the collective *τι*, and objective genitive, thus: *the honorable recognition and kindly feeling manifested for this*.

§ 317. **ἄρα**: slightly ironical, as if what he is about to say was already clearly enough understood. — **ταῦτα βουλομένη**, *aiming at the same objects*. — **ταῖς**, sc. *πολιτείᾳ καὶ προαιρέσει*. — **κατ' ἔκεινους**: cf. § 17. Some MSS. add *τοὺς χρόνους*. — **οἱ διασύροντες...δὲ...ἐπήνουν**: for this irregularity of construction cf. note on *ὑπολαμβάνοντες...τοῦτο δὲ ἐώρων*, § 287. This anacoluthon doubtless caused the reading *οἱ διέσυρον μὲν* found in many MSS. and adopted by Dind., Bekk., and others. The antithesis in the idea is brought out more forcibly by the inversion of the order of subj. and obj.

§ 318. **ἀδελφὸς**: Æsch. had two brothers, Philochares, who was distinguished for military service (Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 149), and Aphobetus (Dem.

de F. L., § 237), who was a somewhat prominent politician. Diss. thinks the orator refers here to the former, but W. thinks to the latter. — *ἴνα... εἰπω*, i. e. than *χρηστός*. In the same vein of sarcasm he calls the entire Macedonian party in § 89 *οἱ χρηστοί*. — **τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν**, *those of his own age*. The reflexive refers back to the object *τὸν ξῶντα*.

§ 319. **ὁ Φιλάμψων...ἀνηγορεύετο**: see Introduction, p. xv, for the singular anticipation of this point by Aesch. in the extract given below. Philammon, acc. to Harpoerion, was a famous Athenian boxer and athlete, who was evidently well known to the orator's audience. — **Γλαύκου**: Glaucon flourished about 470 b. c., and is said to have gained the prize for boxing twice in the Pythian, eight times in the Nemean, and as often in the Isthmian games. Cf. Pausan., VI. 10. 3. — **ἀσθενέστερος ἥν...ἀπήει... ἀριστα ἐμάχετο...ἐστεφανοῦτο**: the thought by being presented in this two-fold way, first negatively and then positively, is made very clear and emphatic. — **οὐδένα**, *I shrink from no one*; i. e. *from a comparison with no one*. *Σο κίνδυνον ἐκστῆναι* = *to shrink from danger*. Cf. Dem. *Lept.*, § 10. But *ἔξισταμαι οὐδενί*, wh. is the reading of many edit., = *I yield to no one*. Cf. Soph. *Philoct.*, 1042: *νῦν δὲ σοι γ' ἔκὼν ἐκστήσομαι*. — **ῶν**: partit. genitive. Cf. note § 298.

§ 320. **έφαμίλλου**: deriv.? *When loyalty to the fatherland lay open for competition in common to all*. — **κράτιστα** = *ἄριστα* here; some MSS. read *βέλτιστα*. — **καὶ...καὶ...καὶ...καὶ**, *and...not only, but also...and*. — **τούτοις**, i. e. the Athenians. — **ἄ...ώφελε**: cf. note § 288. — **ἔτερον**, *another*, i. e. *a foreigner*, meaning Philip. So in § 323 *ἔτέρων* refers to the Macedonians, and *ἔτερος* to Alexander. — **ἔξετασις**, sc. *ἥν*: here *ἔξετασις* does not mean *trial, test*, as in § 310, but rather *an inquiry for, demand for*; as if the Macedonian party at Athens were mustering into their ranks the best men they could find for leaders. — **ἐν τάξει...μέγας**, *all of you were in rank grand people, with splendid equipages*. Kenn. “In a rocky country with a poor soil like Attica, horse-keeping was a sign of wealth. In fact it was so expensive in Athens, that in the time of Aristophanes it was a ready road to ruin for moderate incomes.” Wh. Hence W. thinks that in the use of *ἰπποτορόφος* there lies an allusion to Aesch. expensive style of living at that time.

(f) §§ 321–323. THE CONDUCT OF EACH ORATOR AS A PATRIOTIC CITIZEN FINALLY CONTRASTED. **τὸν φύσει μέτριον**: Lord B. renders by *the citizen of ordinary worth*. *μέτριον* seems to be used here, as in § 10, to avoid giving offence, and — *respectable fair*. *φύσει* seems to be used in the sense of *naturally*, i. e. *what is in the capacity of human nature*, as opposed to the superhuman and the supernatural. So also Professor Tyler interprets it. The phrase then means *the reasonably good citizen*, *φύσει* limiting

μέτριον. "This seems to accord better with the signification of the words and the demands of the context, than the *well-disposed citizen*, wh. is the reading of Kenn. and Wh., but which is too nearly *identical* w. *εύοια*, one of the things that the citizen must possess." TYLER. — **ἀνεπιφθονώτατον, leust iridious.** — **ἐν...ταῖς ἔχουσίαις**, when in authority. So Aristot. *Ethic.*, II. 3. 3 : *οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἔχουσίαις = those who are in supreme authority.* — **τὴν...προαρτεσιν διαφυλάττειν**, to maintain for the state her pursuit of what is *magnanimous* and what promotes her precedence. — **τὴν εὔνοιαν**, the spirit of loyalty, sc. *διαφυλάττειν*. — **τούτου = τοῦ εὐνοεῖν.** A man has it in his own control whether he will be patriotic or not; but whether he can increase the power of his country, this often lies beyond his control. — **ταύτην = τὴν εὔνοιαν.**

§ 322. **ἔξαιτούμενος** : cf. note on *ἔξητούμην*, § 41. — **Αμφικτυονικὰ δικαστικὰ** : the insertion of *eis* in Σ before these words gives the unusual constr. of *ἐπάγειν τινὰ eis δίκην*. The precise nature of these *Amphictyonic suits* is not clear. From the statement of Pausanias, VII. 10. 10, it appears that to the Amphictyonic council was given jurisdiction over any cases of active opposition against Philip, in violation of the articles of agreement made at the Congress of Corinth. A. Schaeff., III. 198, understands Dem. to refer to attempts that were made to bring him to trial before this council on a charge of active co-operation in the Spartan revolt, 330 b. c. Dissen thinks Dem. refers to the time when Philip was Amphictyonic general and he (Dem.) was charged with being his open antagonist. Jacobs understands the allusion to be to the same time that Alexander demanded the surrender of Dem. just referred to by *ἔξαιτούμενος*. — **οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, not when they made overtures**; alluding to attempts to gain him over by bribes. Most texts have *οὐκ ἀπειλούντων* before *οὐκ ἐπ..*, but this, besides being omitted fr. Σ, violates the exact correspondence of these clauses. — **προσβαλλόντων, not when they set these accursed wretches like wild beasts upon me.** — **ὅρθην...δικαῖαν** are in the predicate position and must be rendered accordingly. — **θεραπεύειν** is in explanation of *όδδον*, and accus. in apposition with it.

§ 323. **οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν...τῶν δὲ** : the force of the negative extends over both parts of the sentence. Cf. *οὐ...μὲν δύναται...έμε δέ*, § 13. — **γεγηθώσ...περιέχοματ...προτείνων** : what a graphic picture of a man who goes about exulting and congratulating partisans over some piece of good news just received; and how vividly the terms *πεφρικῶς*, *στένων*, *κύπτων* represent an opposite state of mind! — **ἔκεισε, thither**, i. e. to Macedon. — **ἴξω δὲ βλέπουσι, and look abroad**, with longing hopes of personal preferment at the hands of foreigners. — **ἐν οἷς...ἔτερος** : notice the double antithesis in this brief sentence.

§ 324. PERORATION. **ῳ πάντες θεοί** : the oration closes, as it began, w.

an invocation to the gods. -- ἔξωλεις καὶ προώλεις : ἔξ gives the idea of *utterly*, πρό of *speedily*, i. e. before they have accomplished our ruin. This expression is a standing form of imprecation. So *de F. L.*, § 172 : ἔξωλης ἀπολομην καὶ προώλης, and elsewhere. *By no means, O ye gods, one and all, by no means sanction this conduct; but above all implant within these men a better mind and purpose! But if they are indeed incorrigible, cause utter and swift destruction by land and sea to come upon them, and them alone; and grant to the rest of us a most speedy deliverance from our impending terrors, and an unshaken security!* The impressive and simple beauty of this peroration has won the admiration of all critics. “The music of the closing passage,” says Lord B., “is almost as fine as the sense is impressive and grand, and the manner dignified and calm.” In marked contrast with most of this criticism is the peroration of Æsch., which alone by itself justifies the famous comparison of Æsch. style with that of Dem. given by Quintilian : “Plenior Æschines, et magis fusus, et grandiori similis, quominus strictus est ; earnis tamen plus habet, minus lacertorum.”

APPENDIX.

ABSTRACT OF THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES.

EXORDIUM. (§§ 1–8.) Æschines complains of the frequent disregard of the ancient regulations concerning the conduct of affairs in the popular Assembly and in the courts, and warns the jurors to maintain well the institution of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* as the safeguard of popular government, and to remember in this trial that the liberties of all the citizens are committed to their care.

I. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN PROPOSING TO CROWN DEMOSTHENES WHILE HE WAS STILL ACCOUNTABLE FOR HIS OFFICES AS COMMISSIONER OF WALLS AND TREASURER OF THE THEORIC FUND. (§§ 9–31.)

§§ 9–12. The law of *accountability* provides that no public officer shall be honored with crowns or declarations of praise until he shall have passed the legal examination at the expiration of his term of office. This law was aimed at those who, previous to this examination, managed to have preliminary votes of praise or public honors proclaimed for them. It was sometimes evaded by a proposal made prior to the examination, to crown a public official “when his accounts shall have been approved.” But Ctesiphon manifests his utter contempt of law in that he proposes to crown Demosthenes without adding any such proviso.

§§ 13–16. But there is another evasion of the law to which the defence will have recourse. The offices to which Demosthenes was appointed, they will claim, are simply *commissions*

or *agencies*, not *magistracies*; and the law applies only to *magistracies* properly so called. But the law declares that all offices whatsoever shall be accounted magistracies; hence this claim is a wretched piece of sophistry.

§§ 17–24. The argument upon which Demosthenes relies as unanswerable is, that he made donations of his own means to the public, and that he cannot be held to an account, unless one is to be made responsible for his benefactions. But the law exempts from giving account no one who has the smallest part in the affairs of the state. This is shown in the case of different officials. The law also forbids the man who has not passed the accounts to dedicate any part of his effects to religious purposes, or in any way to alienate his property. If Demosthenes's claim of having made a donation to the state in the expenditure of money upon the fortifications is valid, why did he not give the customary opportunity of scrutinizing his accounts? It is proved that Demosthenes was actually in office at the time that this decree was proposed.

§§ 25–27. While the laws expressly forbid the crowning of one in any office, even of the smallest consequence, before his accounts have been approved, Ctesiphon presumes to confer this honor on Demosthenes when, by virtue of his offices, he was responsible for every kind of public magistracy.

§§ 28–31. By defining the various kinds of magistracies, it is shown that those officials also who are appointed by the tribes come within the intent of the law. Demosthenes was appointed by his tribe; and therefore this case is clearly a violation of the law.

II. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN ORDERING THE CROWN TO BE PROCLAIMED IN THE THEATRE AT THE GREAT DIONYSIA. (§§ 32–48.)

§§ 32–40. The law of *proclamation* provides that a crown granted by the people shall be proclaimed in the Pnyx at the

meeting of the Ecclesia, never in any other place. But the defence will quote the so-called Dionysiac law, which permits the proclamation of such a crown in the theatre when the new tragedies are exhibited, provided the people so determine by vote. On this law, the defence will plead, Ctesiphon has founded his decree. But this is directly contradictory to the former law; and with our regulations for inspecting laws, two that are contradictory cannot coexist.

§§ 41–45. The purpose of this Dionysiac law was to do away with the abuse of proclaiming in the theatre crowns that were conferred by a tribe or by a deme, and also of announcing the manumission of slaves. But this law provides that crowns conferred upon Athenian citizens by *foreign states* may be proclaimed in the theatre, after first obtaining the consent of the Athenian Assembly. The Dionysiac law, therefore, has nothing to do with the law of proclamation in the case of crowns conferred by the Athenian people.

§§ 46–48. That this interpretation of the Dionysiac law is correct, is confirmed by the distinction made between the crown proclaimed in the theatre and that proclaimed in the Assembly, since the former must be dedicated to Athena, while the latter may be retained by the possessor as a memorial for his family.

III. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN PROPOSING TO CROWN DEMOSTHENES ON THE GROUND THAT HE AIMS CONSTANTLY IN ALL HIS WORDS AND DEEDS AT THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE STATE, BECAUSE THIS GROUND IS FALSE, AND IT IS CONTRARY TO THE LAWS TO INSERT FALSE STATEMENTS IN THE PUBLIC DECREES.
EXAMINATION OF THE CHARACTER AND CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES.
(§§ 49–176.)

A. §§ 51–53. INSINUATIONS AGAINST THE PERSONAL CHARACTER OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. §§ 54–176. THE PUBLIC CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAMINED AND CONDEMNED.

(a.) FIRST PERIOD OF DEMOSTHENES'S CAREER, FROM THE WAR ABOUT AMPHIPOLIS, 358 B. C., TO THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES, 346 B. C. (§§ 58–78.)

§§ 58–61. Demosthenes is responsible for the peace of Philocrates. By precipitating the negotiations connected with this peace, without waiting for the return of our deputies, he prevented the allies of Athens from being parties to the peace, and betrayed Cersobleptes, king of Thrace, the friend and ally of this state, into the hands of Philip.

§§ 62–74. A more particular description of the manner and means by which these results were secured, through the co-operation of Demosthenes with Philocrates.

§§ 75–78. The conduct of Demosthenes is disgraceful in flattering the envoys of Philip; is shameless in pretending that the death of Philip was foretold him by a divine vision; is heartless in so speedily forgetting his grief for the loss of a child.

(b.) EXAMINATION OF THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES, 346 B. C., UNTIL ITS END, 340 B. C. (§§ 79–105.)

§§ 79–83. The disastrous results of the peace of Philocrates are chargeable to Demosthenes, since he and Philocrates were the first movers and supporters of the peace. In order to free himself from this charge, he inveighs against his colleagues in the embassy and against Philip, thus procuring the condemnation of Philocrates, and gaining for himself the reputation of being a patriot.

Demosthenes is disposed to cavil about small points.

§§ 84–105. Examination of the boast of Demosthenes, that in gaining the Eubœans and Thebans as allies he surrounded the city as with walls of adamant. First, as to the alliance with the Eubœans. The generous conduct of Athens in freeing Eubœa from the occupation of the Thebans was basely requited by the inhabitants of Chalcis in attempting to destroy the Athenian

forces that came to assist Plutarch, the tyrant of Eretria. This attempt was headed by Callias (whose praises Demosthenes is bribed to sing), and was a failure. Callias, with whom we became reconciled again, afterwards contrives (by lavishing gold on Demosthenes) to obtain an alliance for Chalcis with Athens, by which Athens was obliged to take up arms on every occasion in defence of the Chalcidians. Callias and Demosthenes contrive to defraud the state of the contributions from Oreus and from Eretria, amounting to ten talents. This fraud was perpetrated under pretence that great preparations were in progress for a general attack of all the Peloponnesian states upon Philip, and that these Eubœan cities should use the tribute ordinarily paid to Athens to equip themselves for participation in this attack. Bribes influenced Demosthenes to aid these schemes of Callias.

(c.) THIRD PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAMINED, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE PEACE, 340 B. C., TO THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA, 338 B. C. (§§ 106–158.)

§§ 106–136. The offence of Demosthenes against the sanctuary of Delphi in the affair of the Locrians of Amphissa. (1.) The account of the destruction of the port of Cirrha and of the consecration of the Cirrhæan plain. (2.) The Locrians of Amphissa restore the harbor and cultivate this district, in violation of the mandate of the god. Demosthenes is bribed by the Amphissians to defend their impiety before the Amphictyonic Council. (3.) In this Council the Amphissians charge Athens with sacrilege in depositing certain shields in a new temple at Delphi before it was finished. Æschines, as the Athenian deputy, defends the city, and in turn charges the Amphissians with sacrilege. (4.) The Amphictyonic Council resolves on the spot to punish the Amphissians. A conflict between them ensues, in which the latter come off victorious. A resolution is passed by the Council calling a special session to provide means for pun-

ishing them. (5.) Demosthenes contrived to have a decree passed by which the Athenian deputies were forbidden to meet with the Amphictyons at this extraordinary session. (6.) In this session it was resolved to undertake a war against the Amphissians. A fine was imposed upon them ; but since it was not paid, a second expedition was made, when Philip was on his return from the Scythian campaign. Of the leadership in this holy war Athens was deprived by the corruption of Demosthenes. (7.) Demosthenes has involved the state in numerous calamities. Since he first assumed the administration of affairs, Thebes has been destroyed, the Lacedæmonians brought under the subjection of Alexander, and Athens, once the common refuge of the Greeks, forced to contend for her existence.

§§ 137–158. The alliance with Thebes considered. (1.) It was not Demosthenes, but the common danger from the proximity of Philip, that united Athens and Thebes. (2.) In the negotiations for this alliance Demosthenes committed three capital offences against the state : First, he made Athens assist in placing all Boeotia in the power of Thebes, caused Athens to bear two thirds of the expenses of the war conjointly waged, gave the command of the land force entirely to Thebes, and divided the control of the fleet. His second offence consists in taking away the proper authority of our Assembly and Senate, by giving the magistrates of Boeotia a share in all councils. His third and most heinous offence is that, by opposing the Theban magistrates in their desire to conclude a peace with Philip, to which the latter was also himself inclined, he is responsible for the disastrous results of the battle of Chaeronea. In crowning Demosthenes you crown the author of this slaughter, you perpetuate your own disgrace, and you recall to mind the misfortunes and sufferings of the wretched Thebans.

(d.) FOURTH PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAM-

INED, FROM CHERONEA, 338 B. C., DOWN TO THE PRESENT MOMENT, 330 B. C. (§§ 159–176.)

§§ 159–167. After the battle Demosthenes fled from the city, under pretence of collecting taxes. Upon his return he was full of fear. While he was not allowed by you to append his own name to any decree, he procured through others the passage of decrees honoring the murderer of Philip. He ridiculed Alexander, when at a distance; but when sent on an embassy to him, while he was investing Thebes, afraid to proceed farther than Mount Cithæron, he ran back to Athens. And finally he sold himself to Alexander, as is shown from his neglect to improve three occasions for opposing him.

§§ 168–176. Demosthenes is shown to be neither a friend of free government nor a patriot, when the proper tests are applied to his life and character.

IV. CONSIDERATIONS DRAWN FROM PRECEDENTS WITH REFERENCE TO THE CROWNING AND TO THE MODE OF CONDUCTING THIS TRIAL. (§§ 177–214.)

§§ 177–190. In the most illustrious period of the republic, when the citizens displayed the greatest merit, public honors were sparingly bestowed. To confer honors frequently is to make them cheap.

§§ 191–214. In former times there was much greater reverence paid the laws, and much greater severity in trying indictments for illegal decrees. Precedents were not cited by way of justifying violations of law. Even friends brought prosecutions against friends, in every case in which the state was injured. The question how far a citizen may honestly and regularly plead for an offender is considered.

A law should be passed forbidding the employment of advocates in suits for illegality, as the merits of such suits are not vague. The jurors are cautioned against any attempt on the part of Ctesiphon to evade the real issue. AÆschines reviews the order

he has pursued in his speech, and charges the jurors to oblige Demosthenes to follow the same method in his defence, and to hold him rigidly to the points in question. Demosthenes will wail, revile, and swear, and all for the sake of a crown and proclamation. Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, while pretending to have no concern for themselves, express grave apprehensions for each other, and ought therefore not to be acquitted by their common judges.

V. ANTICIPATIONS OF CERTAIN CHARGES ABOUT TO BE MADE BY HIS OPPONENT. (§§ 215 – 229.)

Demosthenes will charge me with criminal silence, and with bringing a prosecution against his whole administration at this late day, after having neglected to impeach him at the time of his misdeeds. My silence has been owing to my life of abstinence, while, on the contrary, his speaking has been prompted by a desire for money to expend upon his extravagant indulgences. Besides, to speak occasionally is a proof that a man engages in public life as necessity requires ; but to harangue from day to day shows that he makes debating a trade. As to the second charge, he cannot have forgotten how publicly I convicted him of impious conduct with respect to the Amphissians, and of corrupt practices in the affairs of Eubœa ; and we can never forget how, as was shown by me at the time, he defrauded the city of sixty-five ships, when the armament of three hundred had been intrusted to him. His comparing me with the Sirens would come with better grace from a man whose only instrument is not his tongue.

VI. RECAPITULATION OF THE MAIN POINTS OF THE ARGUMENT. (§§ 230 – 259.)

(1.) §§ 230 – 235. The illegality of the decree, the character of Demosthenes, the reputation of the judges for consistency and honesty, and the safety of the republic, demand the conviction of the defendant.

(2.) §§ 236 – 240. Neither the clause that he surrounded the city with excellent fortifications, nor the general statement of his merits as a statesman, furnishes good reason for crowning him. For in building the fortifications he did the city no genuine service, since it was he who made them necessary. And the general statement is untrue; of which fact new proof is furnished by his diverting the seventy talents sent by Persia from the public service into his own coffers.

(3.) §§ 241 – 254. Demosthenes should not be suffered to speak his own praises. To crown him would be to disgrace the brave men of old who were crowned for their valor, and the memory of those who fell in battle; and would corrupt the youth by setting a pernicious example before them. Men who are so ready to lay claim to loyalty and patriotism must be required to produce evidence of their merit. The republic is endangered by the pretensions of these men, which serve them as a cloak for their schemes.

(4.) §§ 255 – 259. The judges are exhorted to confer their honors with a scrupulous delicacy, and not to be influenced by the arrogant pretensions of Demosthenes. Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, and the heroes of Marathon and Platæa, are appealed to as arrayed against the villany of Demosthenes and of his associates.

VII. PERORATION. (§ 260.)

If I have not spoken as I wished, I have spoken as I could. Do ye decide what is just and beneficial to the state, not only from what has been said, but also from what has been left unsaid.

